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WHITHER ISLAM?

A book of deep significance for the Islam of today and tomorrow has recently appeared. It is "Whither Islam? A Survey of Modern Movements in the Moslem World" (Victor Gollancz, London, 1932). It is edited, with two large and important contributions, by Professor H. A. R. Gibb, of the University of London, and his fellow contributors are Professor Massignon, of the University of Paris, Dr. Kampffmeyer, of the University of Berlin, Lieut.-Col. M. L. Ferrar, of the Indian Army, retired, and Professor Berg, of the University of Leiden. The contributors have plainly tried to view their subject from Islam outwards, and to state the movements which they have found working within Islam, and they touch only indirectly and by implication the influences working upon Islam. There is thus little mention in the book of Christian missions to Moslems.

The object of the present editorial note is not to review this book, but to use it as a starting point for a consideration of that precise matter which it has, so far as at all possible, ruled out.[1] The world of Islam is in process of change; there are many drifts in it of baffling complexity, acting and reacting upon one another. Yet there is a unity in Islam, lying behind it all, and holding its own in spite of racial, political, educational, spiritual and economic stresses and strains. What part do Christian missions play in this complex of forces, and what should be the attitude of the Christian missionary towards the

1 The book mentioned will be reviewed in our next number.—*Ed.*

people to whom he has been sent and towards the fundamentals of their life and faith? Some things will be very plain to him—and must be plain to anyone in real contact with Moslems. For one thing, they are supernaturalists through and through; behind this visible world of sense there lies for all of them an unseen world, which may hypothetically break in upon them at any time. Those of them who have received a Western education and who wish to stand well with Westerners may try to ignore this, but they too, at heart, are under the same spell. Further, Moslems are genuinely and thoroughly religious, after their fashion. A relationship to the divine is a fundamental reality for the masses of them in a way that our generation in the West has almost completely forgotten. It may not govern their conduct in the ways that we would approve, but it is there as a basal fact in their life. Everyone who is professedly a religious person and who does not accept it as they do is a puzzle and a paradox to them. And, further, this religious attitude is directly to God—perhaps better, to Allah, for that is His proper name, and He is a personality to them. Yet again, they are His people; they feel they are the people of Allah, His chosen people, as absolutely as the Hebrews felt that they were the people of Jehovah. He demands that they have faith in Him, surrender themselves to Him, take refuge with Him, and so be safe in the last Judgment. For there is a Judgment to come.

All this every one in real contact with Moslems knows, and this is perfectly clear throughout the book from which we have started. All this has affected and does affect all the sides of Moslem life, personal and communal; it lies behind Moslem politics, whether inside a state, or in the interrelations of states; it may for a time be ignored, but it always reasserts itself. It belongs to the very fabric of Moslem life, and to the very soul of Moslem thought. We of the West may like it or not; we may criticize it or we may fear it; but we cannot

ignore it, and it is folly to sneer at it and its workings. It has produced a sense of brotherhood where Christendom has failed; it has linked Moslem states together where the League of Nations has failed. For it has not limited itself to furnishing a means of problematically smoothing out disputes, but has been itself a family union, in which conflict was indeed possible, but was also fratricidal and under the curse of Allah.

It is absurd, therefore, to lump Moslems in with the peoples whom we call glibly the heathen. They are of our own kind, and there are ways in which we—the masses of us—can well learn from the masses of them. In the eclipse of full religious faith and of a spiritual attitude towards life which has come upon us we may find that they possess realities which have become shadowy for too many of us. And, to push the matter still further, it is well for us to remember that Islam in all strictness is a Christian heresy; that Mohammed was little further out of the Christian fold than Arius; and that a party even in the Roman church holds that all Moslems are capable of salvation because they believe in a personal God and in future rewards and punishments. If there is to be any dividing, theologically and religiously, Islam, Christendom and Judaism must go together as one household of faith, and Islam may have its lessons to teach to its two brethren of the West. Certain it is that Islam feels very sure that it has.

But these things being so, whither is the Islam of today drifting? and what part have we, the specific Church of Christ, in its driftings? No man lives or dies to himself, and the responsibilities of a Church are infinite. On us is the burden of the commission of the Lord Christ, and it is for us, generation by generation, to realize it and to take it up. If the historical Incarnation is a divine reality, beyond any faith or dream of Mohammed, all the greater is our responsibility towards those half-brothers and sisters of ours. And what is the essence of our responsibility? Part of it, and the basal part, is very plain.

It is for the Christian Church to complete the imperfect message of Mohammed, and to guide his people out of the heresy as to the person of Christ in which they have been involved. That is a tremendous task, but to such tasks the Church was commissioned, and such testimony it must bear. Islam expects that testimony to be borne, and respects the man who bears it. Contrariwise it has no respect at all for those who seek to win favor with it by the use of weasel words and ambiguous phrases. Islam is still theologically minded, and it knows its theology. Commonplaces about our worshipping the same God it will meet politely but decisively. Except for a very small minority who have come under the influence of Christian ideas, Allah is not our Father and we are not His children. So great is still our essential task.

But there are other tasks which fall to it as part of the civilization of the West, and as the institution which is, when all is said, the very basis of that civilization. The whole problem of "Whither Islam?" lies in the working of that Western civilization on the world of Islam. By it the world of Islam has been shaken awake, and is being guided into new ways. In those changes the new generations of Islam are doing their part, and the old vital forces of Islam have come to fresh life. There is much action and reaction, and in many ways, arising from the different situations in the different elements of the Moslem world. But the arousing impact has come from the West. And it is the whole Western civilization in all its phases that has come thus to bear upon the East. We of the Christian Church know very well what our modern civilization has come to be. We know its economic brutality and rapacity; we know its lop-sided studies and knowledge; we know its worship of material comfort; we know its faith in elaboration of organization; and we know its contempt for spiritual realities. We of the Christian Church are at grips with all these things in our own world, and are often sorely tempted to join from the bottom of our hearts in the hymn—"The

times are waxing late." But we are keeping up the struggle, for we believe too the words of our Lord, "And lo, I am with you alway." And now we see this world of ours pouring out its energies of all those kinds on the world of Islam, and our duty as the Christian Church is clear. We, too, must go with our world and bear our testimony and work our work, with our world and against it, in the world of Islam. We know very well what the Western world would be without the saving force and guidance of the life of Christ in it. We know how many strange uses the word "Christian" has come to have with us, but we know that in them all it always means the truest and the best of anything. We have to see to it that that truest and best goes with and has part in all the workings of the Western civilization on the world of Islam. That, too, is part of the testimony of the Christian Church, and that testimony can only completely be borne by the missionaries of Christ, the successors in our modern world of His own apostles. Perhaps from their mouths, if the witness is clear and complete, the world of Islam may believe that the Western world is not wholly sunk in materialism and irreligion. For, viewed on this side, it is not a question of Christianity as against Islam; it is a question of religion as against irreligion. We know that that is rapidly coming to be our problem—the problem of the whole spiritual or material attitude towards life. With almost equal rapidity it is becoming the problem of the East. And the responsibility for that development lies largely on Western schools—or schools on Western models—in the East. The older-fashioned East is aghast at this, and sees in this one of its greatest problems. It is one of the greatest problems, too, of the Christian Church. How can it make its direct agencies, such as schools and colleges, safe for the world of Islam? There can be only one answer. In or beside these schools there must go unequivocal testimony to the fact of Christ. And such testimony Islam will always respect.

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IS ISLAM A CHRISTIAN HERESY?

The Editor of THE MOSLEM WORLD has suggested to me that the interesting article of Dr. F. H. Foster (April, 1932) bearing the above title, is deserving of some comment. Dr. Foster very properly commences his paper with a definition of the word heresy, in which a slight modification seems desirable. It is, he says, "Variation from the creed, and consequent exclusion from the fellowship, of the orthodox church." For "exclusion" it would seem that "expulsion" should be substituted. People can be excluded from an enclosure who have never been inside it; but they must be within it before they can be expelled. The heretic is one who is already within the community, and does not, like the apostate, abandon it; at times he wishes to expel those who do not share his opinions.

If we start the discussion by considering the question from the Koranic and Moslem standpoint, the answer to the question is not only negative; it is easy to prove from the Koran that Christianity is a Moslem heresy. The Apostles of 'Isa (Jesus), whom the Koran designates by their Ethiopic name, protest that they are Moslems (iii. 45, repeated v. 111). That name was given to the community by Ibrahim (xxii. 77), whose system (*millah*) the Koran declares to be that which it proclaims: "They say, Be Jews or Christians, ye shall be rightly guided: nay rather, the system of Ibrahim, a *hanif* and not a polytheist" (ii. 129). "Who has a better religion than one who is a Moslem—following the system of Ibrahim, a *hanif?*" (iv. 124). "Say: My Lord has guided me to a straight path, the system of Ibrahim, a *hanif*" (vi. 162).

But though Ibrahim gave the community the name of

Islam, the *hanif* system is, according to the Koran, earlier than his time; it is defined as natural religion (xxx. 29), and this is expanded in a tradition that every child is born in that religion, and only made Jew, Christian, or Magian by its parents.[1] It is therefore clear that according to the Koran, Christianity is an Islamic heresy.

Certain Islamic theologians view with favor the opinion that so far as the legislation of the Jewish and Christian scriptures is not abrogated, it is binding on the Moslems; indeed this is said to be the doctrine of the three most popular schools of Sunni law.[2] The theory has no practical importance, since it is agreed in these circles that the existing copies of those scriptures have been wilfully mutilated and are quite untrustworthy; and the traditions that Mohammed discouraged or even forbade their study are likely to be historical. The doctrine of early Islam appears to have been that pagan practice was to be maintained except where it had been abrogated by the Koran. Hence we find the phrase *sunnah,* afterwards used for precedents set by Mohammed, employed to designate the Abrahamic rite, which was pre-Islamic, but to which the Koran contains no allusion, and certain other ancient ceremonies. If the Arabs were originally followers of Ibrahim, whose system had been corrupted by polytheists, it was consistent to maintain pagan practice when it had not been abrogated by Mohammed.

We may now consider the matter from a non-Islamic standpoint. Even from this standpoint it may be held that there are certain matters about which the Koran cannot well be mistaken. One such is the extent of the knowledge possessed by the communities to whom it was addressed. Now in the case of the Jewish and Christian histories which it reproduces, it sometimes asserts emphatically, at others suggests or implies, that the audience were quite ignorant of them. After telling the story of Noah (xi. 27–51) it proceeds: *This is a secret history which We reveal to thee; thou didst not know it, neither*

1 Bukhari, ed. Krehl, iii. 308, etc.
2 *Tanqih al-Fusul* of al-Qirafi, Cairo 1306, p. 130.

thy people before this. After telling those of the nativity of the Virgin and of Yahya (John the Baptist) it adds (iii. 38): *This is a secret history which We reveal to thee; thou wast not with them when they cast their pens* to ascertain *which of them should be guardian of Maryam, neither wast thou with them when they disputed.* He could only know these histories by direct revelation. The history of Joseph which forms Surah xii begins: *We are relating to thee the best of narratives, by revealing unto thee this lecture, whereas thou wast before one of the negligent.* Sale's note is "i. e., so far from being acquainted with the story, that it never entered into thy thoughts; a certain argument, says al-Baidawi, that it must have been revealed to him from heaven." Whether this inference be sound or not, the inference that the story was new to the audience would seem to be legitimate.

Against the authority of the Koran, Dr. Foster cites that of Wellhausen, who observes that "king David appears in the Koran as an armorer (xxi. 80), but it is not the first time in Arabic story, for he plays the same rôle in earlier poetry." Now the name given this king in the Koran bears the stamp of Mohammed's coinage; "we know him by the intonation of the voice," [3] for this form clearly comes from the same mint as *Qarun* (for Corah), *Jalut* (for Goliath), *Talut* (for Saul), *Yajuj* (for Gog), *Harut* and *Marut* (probably for Jannes and Jambres). Hence any verse in which this form appears is almost certainly post-Koranic. Further, Dawud's activities in this line are confined in the Koran to the manufacture of cuirasses; in the text cited he is taught *the making of clothing for you to protect you from your* (i. e., each other's) *violence;* in xxxiv. 10 this is amplified: *And we made the iron supple for him, saying, Make thou long coats of mail and measure the links* (or plates) *thereof.* The source of this seems to be 2 Samuel i. 18, "and David bade them teach the children of Israel the bow," which according to S. Ephraem means "the art (or fabrication)

3 Surah xlvii. 32.

of armor and the bow." [4] The expansion of this into the manufacture of cuirasses is in the style of the Koran, though the detail of the softening of iron may go back to Psalm xviii. 34. There is at present no sound reason for supposing that Dawud's cuirasses were known in Arabia before the Koran was produced.

When Dr. Foster asserts that the "Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour was the source of one or two passages in the Koran," and that "the date of this document . . . is carried back to a time before Mohammed at the latest," he is unlikely to obtain the assent of Arabic scholars to these propositions. Quite recent authorities assume that this Gospel got the story of Christ's speaking in the cradle from the Koran.[5] Since the language of the tract is clearly influenced by the Koran, this is most probable. The editor Thilo shows reasons for thinking it a translation from Syriac, but he traces this particular fable to the Hymn to Apollo by Callimachus; a suggestion which is rendered plausible by the evident origin of the story that Maryam supported herself against a palm-tree during parturition (Surah xix. 23) in the similar story about Leto told in the Homeric Hymn to the same deity.[6] The other story which is found both in this Gospel and in the Koran (iii. 43) of Christ making figures of clay and causing them to fly is also found in the Greek Gospel of Thomas,[7] and was not unknown to the Jews;[8] Thilo thought that the Koran might have got it from the latter. The Koran has besides other stories about the Nativity which are not found in this Gospel, but in other Apocrypha, viz., the miraculous conception of Maryam herself (iii. 31), which is told at length in the Protevangelium Jacobi Minoris; and the miraculous production of dates and a spring of water for the Virgin (Surah xix. 24, 25) recorded in the Latin *Historia de Nativitate Mariae*,[9] the source in all such cases is likely

4 *Opera*, Rome 1737, iv. 392.
5 A. Baumstark in ZDMG, 1928, p. lxviii; cf. K. Ahrens, ibid. 1930, p. 173.
6 *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, 1837, p. 138.
7 Ibid. p. 280.
8 Ibid. p. xlii.
9 Ibid. pp. 184 and 395.

to have been the "story-teller" (*qāss*), heard by Mohammed in his travels, whose representative afterwards played an important part in the development of Islamic mythology.[10]

That Mohammed had no acquaintance with any Gospel, canonical or apocryphal, is clear from the fact that the *Injīl* is regarded as a collection of matter divinely revealed to 'Isa, as the Law was to Musa (Moses); wherein many a section begins "And the Lord spake unto Moses saying." 'Isa according to iii. 43 was taught by Allah *the Book and the Wisdom and the Torah and the Injīl*. Since these Gospels are all records of the life of Christ, the notion of their being revealed to Him is incongruous.

It is also clear that the audience in Mecca and Medina knew no better. And indeed the name *Injīl* for the Gospel is from the same mint as *Gibrīl* for Gabriel, *Iblīs* for Diabolus, *Idrīs* probably for Andreas. *Ibrāhīm* for Abraham, modelled on the name Isrā'īl or Ismā'īl, is from the same mint. So too is *'Isa* (pronounced Eesa) modelled on Musa (Moses), with which it rhymes;[11] also *Yahya* (John), which has the same measure.

We need find no fault with these coinages, since our own James and John are no nearer the originals; but since they are evidently the work of one coiner, we may be sure that they were new to the hearers.

It was observed above that heresy implies expulsion from a community, and that no one can be expelled who has not been within the community. What evidence is there that Mohammed was at any time a Christian? There is none. A Christian may be defined as a person who has been baptized. To baptism one allusion is found by the commentators in the Koran, but it is in any case obscure, and disappears in Mr. Pickthall's translation (ii. 132). Probably there is no such allusion, and indeed it seems fairly certain that Mohammed was not acquainted with the rite. Had he known of it, he must surely have

10 See Goldziher, M.S. ii. 161; Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 314.
11 Mutanabbi, ed. Dieterici, p. 96.

mentioned it in the list of the achievements of Yahya (iii. 34, xix. 14), i. e., John the Baptist, whose name is compressed into the mould of 'Isa. Christians can scarcely think of this person except as the Baptist, partly indeed because his namesake, the Evangelist, occupies a larger place in their horizon, but also because the institution of the rite is associated with him. From the fact that the accounts of this person in the Koran contain no allusion to the rite, we may infer with something like certainty that the author was unacquainted with it.

To the other great Christian sacrament, Holy Communion, there would seem to be a reference in Surah v. 114. The *hawariyyun* (Apostles) ask 'Isa to cause a table to descend on them from heaven, and this according to the next verse is to be "a festival for the first of us and the last of us, and a sign." Here there appear to be reminiscences of various passages of the New Testament: the dream of Peter in Acts x. 10, and the Feeding of the Multitude, as well as the Last Supper. But of any actual acquaintance with the rite there is no sign.

Christian doctrine has for its centre the Crucifixion, whence the sign of the Cross, and the Resurrection, commemorated in the Lord's Day. It appears that in the Meccan period, to which Surah xix (at least in the main) belongs, Mohammed had not heard of either. After narrating the birth of Yahya somewhat as St. Luke tells it, the Surah adds (verse 15) *And peace upon him the day he was born and the day he shall die, and the day he shall be raised alive.* There follows the nativity of 'Isa, containing details found, as has been seen, in a Latin *apocryphon.* 'Isa, speaking in the cradle, says: *I am the servant of Allah, He has given me the Book, and made me a prophet, and made me blessed wheresoever I am, and enjoined on me prayer and alms so long as I remain alive, and dutiful to my mother, and has not made me tyrannical, doomed; and peace upon me the day I was born and the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised alive* (ibid. 31–33.) The same formula is thus used for

'Isa as for Yahya, the sole difference being in the person of the verbs. It seems incredible that any one who knew anything about Christianity could put these words into the mouth of the infant Jesus; at a later period the story of the crucifixion is contradicted (iv. 156), but here it is ignored. It is assumed that the experiences of 'Isa were the same as those of other men. Some verses, shown by both rhyme and style to belong to a later period, follow, in which the Sonship of 'Isa is vehemently denied; in the original Surah there are some verses (91–93) which denounce the assertion that the Rahman had taken to Himself a Son; but since the name Rahman is used by Jews and South Arabian monotheists, though not unknown to Christians, it is not quite certain that the reference in this passage is to the Christian belief.

In Surah iii, of the Medina period, the nativities of 'Isa and Yahya are again narrated, but there is some further information about 'Isa. His experiences were, it would appear, similar to those of Mohammed. Disbelieved by the Jews (as was Mohammed by the Meccans) he appealed for help in addition to the help of Allah; and to this appeal the *Hawariyyun* responded, as did the Medinese to Mohammed's. The Jews plotted against 'Isa, but were outwitted by Allah, "the best of plotters." Neither the plot nor the counterplot is further explained in this passage (iii. 47), only 'Isa is promised that he shall live out his full term,[12] and that his followers shall get the upper hand. Something more is recorded in another Surah of the Medina period (iv. 156), where it is reckoned among the crimes of the Jews that they claimed to have slain 'Isa, whereas they had neither slain him nor crucified him, for it *had* merely *appeared so to them,* whereas *they had not slain him for certain,*[13] *on the contrary Allah had raised him to Himself.* When the verse is correctly rendered, it becomes very doubtful whether there is any allusion to the doctrine of Basilides, which Epiphanius denounces, that some one else, on whom the

12 See Zamakhshari's note.
13 Mr. Pickthall's translation, which is clearly right.

likeness of Jesus was cast, was killed instead. Zamakhshari puts the difficulties of the substitution theory clearly, if somewhat naïvely. If there was a corpse, and this was recognized as that of, say, Simon of Cyrene, the Jews would *know* that they had not slain 'Isa; where, then, was 'Isa? If on the other hand the corpse was supposed to be that of 'Isa, where, they would ask, is Simon of Cyrene? The "counterplot" then seems to have been a temporary removal of 'Isa, whom the Jews thought they had killed, though they had not ascertained this. This is far removed from the Christian doctrine of the Ascension.

Dr. Foster quotes Surah xliii. 61 for the doctrine that the Final Judgment is to be heralded by the return of 'Isa to the earth. Here once more Mr. Pickthall is to be thanked for having furnished a correct rendering of the passage. Instead of *Verily he* ('Isa) *is a sign of the Hour* he translates it *Verily there is knowledge of the Hour,* which agrees with what follows: *so doubt ye not concerning it, but follow Me. This is the right path.* Knowledge of the Hour is indeed with Allah (verse 85), but, since it is the subject of knowledge, we must not doubt about it, though that knowledge is not ours. Lest the loss of the approach to Christian doctrine which the old rendering suggests be regretted, it is worth while considering the Tradition which Zamakhshari cites in support of it. According to this, 'Isa on his reappearance will lead prayer according to Mohammed's rite, and will proceed to slaughter swine, smash the cross, demolish all churches and synagogues, and put to death all Christians, save such as believe in him (Mohammed).

The amount then to which the Christology of the Koran coincides with that of Christendom scarcely goes beyond the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. Even here there is an important difference, since the Koran identifies the Maryam of the Gospel with the sister of Aaron mentioned in the Pentateuch. This is probably to be explained from the fact that neither the Greek nor the

Syriac tradition has any name for the successor of Moses other than Jesus or Yeshu', a form preserved in out of the way parts of the Old Testament, but expelled from the Hexateuch of the Jews. There would be no anachronism in making this Jesus a nephew of Aaron, though this is not confirmed by the record. The Koran shows no acquaintance with the names of any of the Apostles, nor even with that of Pontius Pilate, who is mentioned in the Creeds.

Dr. Foster finishes his article with a list of "the great doctrines of Islam . . . in comparison with which all else that pertains to it is nothing but incidental." If we ask the Moslems for such a list, they will furnish two propositions: a negative one, *There is no god except* (literally, it would seem, "if not") *Allah;* and a positive one, *Muhammad is Allah's messenger.* This means that only through Mohammed can the will of Allah be ascertained, and in consequence *Whoso obeys the messenger has obeyed Allah* (iv. 82). Since Dr. Foster's list does not include this important proposition, it seems unnecessary to discuss the former; to the most preposterous of its contents attention has already been called by Dr. Zwemer in a foot-note to the article.

To the question "Is Islam a Christian Heresy?" our answer must be a negative. Rather more might be said for the view of Neander[14] that "Mohammedanism corresponds in the nearest degree with Judaism." For indeed here there are important points of contact: the maintenance of the Abrahamic rites, detestation of the plastic art, detestation of the pig. And though it would be inaccurate to say that Mohammed had ever been a member of the Jewish community, his relations with the Jews seem to have been close till some little time after his establishment as despot of Medina, when his change in the direction of prayer signalized a definite breach with them. The breach was to some extent on Old Testament lines, since the Pentateuch was the authority for the connexion

14 "History of the Christian Religion and Church," v. 116 (Torrey's translation).

of northern Arabia with Ishmael, and of Ishmael with Ibrahim. Ibrahim (Abraham), as the Koran rightly says, was not a Jew; the Mosaic code was addressed only to one branch of his family. It might well be held that the paganism of Mecca, if purged of polytheistic elements, would represent the cult introduced by Ibrahim. So far then as the system of Ibrahim, though forgotten in Arabia, had been preserved by the Jews, whose testimony was adduced to confirm Mohammed's revelation of the same, it might be said that Islam was a Jewish "heresy" in its older sense of "sect." [15] And recognition of the Israelites as the Chosen People finds emphatic expression in the Koran: Allah says, *O ye Children of Israel, remember My favour which I bestowed on you, and how I preferred you above all creatures* (ii. 44, 116).

Nevertheless the effects of the two systems on their devotees have been so different that it is hard to think of the one as a development of the other. The project conceived by Islam was world-conquest—once or twice largely realized. The aim of Judaism has been, while accepting political dependence, to maintain its isolation from the communities to whose rule it submits. Hence, though Islam has more in common with Judaism than with Christianity, the one cannot well be called a sect of the other.

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15 Acts v. 17, xxvi. 5.

AL-GHAZĀLĪ ON THE PRACTICE OF THE PRESENCE OF GOD

Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī was born at Ṭūs, in the very centre of the region where Islamic mysticism had its rise and early development in 1059 A. D., at a time when some of the greatest of the Ṣūfī writers, such as al-Muḥāsibī, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Qushayrī and Hujwīrī, had already set forth the doctrines of Ṣūfism, so far as it had developed at that period. Al-Ghazālī's early education was received at the hands of a Ṣūfī friend of his father. Later he proceeded to school and to college, and received the best education available for young men of his time.

In 1091, al-Ghazālī was appointed professor at the Nizamiyya College in Baghdad, and while there lost his religious faith, and became a thorough-going skeptic and agnostic. He applied himself diligently to a study of the different schools of thought around him, and especially of philosophy, seeking in that way to gain peace of mind and a solution of his own doubts. Finally he turned to Ṣūfism, and this restored his belief in God, but his conversion was accompanied by a physical breakdown. He relinquished his post at Baghdad, and resolved to give himself up to the practice of asceticism and the contemplative life, in order to attain to a real knowledge of the truth. For two years he lived in retreat in different places, studying and writing, the subject of his studies now being the teaching of the great Ṣūfī writers. From time to time he returned to his family, and to the life of the world, and at the end of this period returned to normal life, but after a brief time of teaching at Nīshāpūr, his desire for a life of quiet and contemplation led him to return to Ṭūs, where he spent the last few years

of his life in retirement with his personal disciples, having charge of a Ṣūfī monastery, and there he died in A. D. 1111.

Al-Ghazālī, being a true mystic, and therefore permeated with the consciousness of the divine, was intensely and continuously aware of the all-pervading presence of God, and as a mystic, too, he sought for a conscious relation with that divine Reality, that relation which the Ṣūfīs called "union," when the consciousness of the world and of the self was merged in the consciousness of God. What al-Ghazālī sought, as all the mystics have sought, was "the supernatural union of likeness, begotten of love, which is the union of the human will with the divine. They seek to realize the unfelt natural presence of God in creation, by entering into a personal relationship with the concealed presence which is the source of being." [1]

Mysticism assumes that this relationship is rendered possible by a spiritual faculty of the soul, by which it can see and perceive that which cannot be understood by intelligence, an inner sense by which man can receive a direct knowledge and revelation of God. "Man possesses two eyes," says al-Ghazālī, "the outward and the inward; the outward, which is concerned with the world of sense and its observation, and the inward, which is concerned with the invisible world; and each eye has a sun and light by which it is enabled to see to the perfection of its power." This inner sense the soul possesses because it is itself a partaker of the divine nature. Al-Ghazālī emphasized the teaching, already set forth in orthodox Islam, that man differed from the other creatures because God had breathed into him of His own Spirit. Man, alone of the creation, had been created with a nature corresponding to the divine nature, and therefore he can know God. So, al-Ghazālī tells us, there is within the human soul a power of apprehension, the "inward light," the "light of faith," which seeks the highest kind of knowledge, that of God Himself. In this consists the joy

1 A. B. Sharpe, "Mysticism: its True Nature and Value," p. 140.

of the saints, for "they are, even in this life, in a paradise which no eye hath seen, and they listen to that which no ear hath heard." [2] Al-Ghazālī frequently compares the soul to a mirror, which, when it is polished and free from blemishes, and the veil has been drawn aside, can reflect the realities of the spiritual world—and the highest reality, that which alone brings true joy to the soul, is the image of God Himself; by means of the mirror of the soul, man can attain to a direct knowledge of God and the nature of God.

But on account of the rust and the blemishes by which the mirror is marred—"that fair countenance," says al-Ghazālī, "has become disfigured by the darkness of sin" —and the veils which hide from it that glorious reality of the nearness of God, the first step towards the practice of the presence of God, is the polishing of the mirror, and the removal of the veils between the soul and God, and this is by the process of purification, the first stage on the mystic path, which is an inward process. The means of purification is, in the first place, repentance (*tawbat*), which to the Ṣūfīs was the equivalent of conversion, turning away from the old life and setting the face towards the new life in God. Al-Ghazālī stresses the fact that no one is free from sin. "For though in some cases he is free from the sins of his outward members, he is not free from sins of the heart; though sometimes he may be free from this burden, he is not free from the suggestions of satan, and from forgetfulness of God, nor from neglect and coming short of the knowledge of God and His attributes and His works."

Unrepented sin enters deeper and deeper into the heart, until the image of God on the mirror of the human soul is all but effaced. Therefore the soul that would be purified must repent, and al-Ghazālī writes: "Whenever you purify the place where you are, which is your outermost container, and then your garments, which are your

2 So Brother Lawrence writes: "If in this life we would enjoy the peace of Paradise, we must accustom ourselves to a familiar, humble, affectionate conversation with Him." *Fourteenth Letter.*

nearest covering, and then your skin, which is your closest shell, do not be unmindful of your kernel, which is your real essence, and that is your heart. Therefore strive to cleanse it by repentance and contrition, for that is the spot upon which God looks." A complete purification of the heart from all but God, says al-Ghazālī, is the path which leads the mystic to communion with God. Seeking to submerge the heart entirely in God is its beginning, and its end is complete passing away in God. So he writes: "I pray almighty God to set us among the number of those whom He directs in the way of salvation, whom He purifies from all defilement, so that nothing shall remain in them except Himself, of those in short, of whom He takes complete possession, so that they adore Him alone."

The only way by which the seeker, when purified, can come to knowledge of his Lord, and ultimately to that union with Him, which is the mystic's goal, is by constant intercourse with Him. "When you awake from sleep," says al-Ghazālī, "endeavor to arise before early dawn, and may the first thing that enters your head and tongue be the remembrance of God most high," and this remembrance should be with the lover of God at all times, even as God is with him at all times, if he has eyes to see and a heart to apprehend. Of the constant presence and fellowship (*mu'āsharat*) of God with His creatures, al-Ghazālī writes, "Your Companion, Who does not desert you, whether you are at home or abroad, asleep or awake, in life or in death, is your Lord and Master, your Protector and your Creator, and whensoever you remember Him, He is there beside you. For God Himself hath said: 'I am the Companion of him who remembers Me.' And whenever your heart is grief-stricken for your shortcomings in religion, He is there, continually beside you. For He hath said: 'I am with those who are broken in heart.' If you but knew Him as He really is, you would take Him as your Friend, and forsake all others but Him. And even if you are able to do this at all times, yet I would urge you to set aside time both night and day,

devoted to your Lord, that you may enjoy His presence, in inward converse with Him. You ought to know what are the joys of continuous fellowship with God."

The chief means by which the soul can attain to this companionship with God and the joys to which it leads, are prayer and meditation, for prayer is intimate communion with Him. To attain to the inner reality of prayer, the heart must be "present," that is, closely attentive, to apprehend what God would reveal to it, and the worshipper must come in a state of humble adoration, of reverence and of hope. Just as, in the ritual prayer, the face is turned towards the *qiblat,* and away from all other directions, so also the heart should be turned towards God and nothing else. "Let the face of your heart be turned in the same direction as the face of your body, and know that the heart does not turn towards God except by being free of all else besides." [3] Al-Ghazālī knows much of the distractions and the wandering thoughts which hamper intercourse with God in prayer, but only those who direct their prayer solely to the face of God in humble adoration can receive the light of His presence, and perceive the unseen mysteries revealed to the friends of God. The divine secrets are unveiled only in prayer, and the revelation is in proportion to the seeker's freedom from all distractions. When such a one can say: "My worship and my devotion, my living and my dying belong to God," know that this is the state of one lost to himself and found to his Lord.

Prayer, al-Ghazālī teaches, is of three degrees. The first is that uttered only with the tongue, the second when it is only by resolute effort that the soul can free itself from evil suggestions and concentrate on divine things, and the third when the mind can only with difficulty be turned away from dwelling upon the things of God. But the very essence of prayer is attained when He Who is invoked takes possession of the soul of the suppliant, and

[3] So also Brother Lawrence: "For the right practice of the presence of God, the heart must be empty of all other things: because God will possess the heart alone; and as He cannot possess it alone, without emptying it of all besides, so neither can He act there and do in it what He pleases, unless it be left vacant to Him."

the soul of him who prays is absorbed into God, and his prayer is felt to be a veil between the soul and God. This is the Ṣūfī state of absorption or *fanā'*, for the mystic is so absorbed that he takes no thought of his body or what is passing without, or even of the movements of his own soul, but he is journeying first towards his Lord and finally in his Lord.[4]

The soul dwells now in the light, and is in such close relationship to its Lord that He raises the veil between Himself and His creature, and meets him face to face. The beginning of this life of fellowship, says al-Ghazālī, is the going towards God, then follows the finding of Him, when absorption takes place. This direct experience of the presence of God is at first momentary, like the lightning which flashes and is gone, but soon it becomes a constant experience, and the soul, in contact with the divine Reality, continues steadfastly in the contemplation of God, and to such a one is granted the vision of God in His beauty. Of the preparation of the soul to look upon that vision, al-Ghazālī tells us that when the mystic concerns himself entirely with God, God takes possession of His servant's heart, and bestows mercy upon it, and gives His light unto it, and the secret of the invisible world is revealed to that one, and the veil is taken away. The servant can do no more than be prepared for the divine penetration, and his concern is with the sincere will and the ardent thirst and the watching in continuous expectation for what God of His grace shall reveal to him. It is upon the hearts of His saints that the light is shed, those hearts which are free from all preoccupation, and are concerned wholly with God—and when anyone is God's, God is his. So, when the mystic is free from all distractions, the light of God will shine upon his heart and it will be at the first like a blinding flash of lightning, but it will return, for it is the prelude of a constant communion with God. "The delight arising from the beauty

4 So Brother Lawrence speaks of prayer as "nothing else but a sense of the presence of God, the soul being at that time insensible to everything but divine love." *Fourth Conversation.*

of the Lord," writes al-Ghazālī, "is that of which God spoke when He said, 'I have prepared for My faithful servants what eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and what has not entered into the heart of man,' and some of these delights are given here and now to the one who has wholly purified his heart." "How can he, who understands only the love of sensible things, believe in the joy of looking upon the face of God most high? For such a one there is no vision, and what meaning is there for him in the promise of God all-glorious to His worshippers? But he who knows God, knows that all joys (save only those of the senses) are included in this joy."

And from the vision of God, the lover passes into union with Him; those who gaze upon the divine beauty themselves become godlike.[5] This was the ultimate goal of the quest, for the lover seeks ever the consummation of love in union with the Beloved. So a modern writer has written: "Love brings the very life of the divine into the soul of man and takes it as its own—the divine Spirit becomes the unchanging Friend, the intimate Companion, carrying on close and eternal fellowship with the finite spirit in perpetual reciprocal intercourse of thought and action and desire. The love of truth, which not only enchains, but enchants us; the love of goodness, when it assumes the form of the beauty of holiness; the love of beauty for its own sake, find their consummation in the love of the divine, in which these are harmonized and by which is the source and end of them all.[6] If the divine Spirit does really commune with the finite in the way of love and reveal His life to man in so doing, it seems to follow—that not only can man be in intimate union with God, but that God is in intimate union with him." [7]

This corresponds closely with al-Ghazālī's teaching that the lover of God ceases to be conscious of himself and

5 Cf. St. Paul: "We all, with unveiled face, reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Spirit of the Lord." II Cor. 3:18.

6 So also Ghazālī: "Where Beauty exists, it is natural to love it, and if it is certain that God is beautiful, there can be no doubt that He will be loved by those to whom His beauty and His majesty are revealed. The greater the beauty, the greater the love, and since complete and perfect beauty is found only in God, He alone can be worthy of true love."

7 Sir J. Baillie, "Spiritual Religion," *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1932, p. 412.

is conscious only of God. Now he knows himself to be in union with Him, as living, moving and having his being in God. Of those who are living the unitive life in God al-Ghazālī writes: "Praise be to God Who hath consumed the hearts of His saints in the fire of His love, and hath taken captive their thoughts and their spirits by the longing to meet with Him and to look upon Him, and hath fixed their sight and their insight upon the vision of the beauty of His presence, until by the inbreathing of the spirit of union, they have become rapt beyond themselves, and they see naught like unto Him among all that is visible or invisible, and they remember none in the two worlds, save Him alone. If any form presents itself to their outward gaze, their inward vision passes beyond it to Him that formed it: if sweet music breaks upon their hearing, their inmost thoughts pass from it to the Beloved. Their longing is only for that which is to be found in His presence, and their going to and fro is round about Him alone. For from Him is all that they hear, and it is to Him that they give heed, since He hath closed their eyes to all but Him and hath made them deaf to all words save His. These are they whom God hath called to be His saints."

They are those who are lost to self, but alive in God, lovers who have entered into abiding union with Him whom they love.

London. MARGARET SMITH.

TURKEY DISCOVERS THE KORAN

The closing days of last year's Fast of Ramazan were marked by extraordinary scenes in the mosques of Istanbul, Smyrna, Angora and other Turkish cities, when for the first time the Turkish translation of the Koran was accorded an important place in the mosque services.

For nearly ten years Islam has seemed to be undergoing rapid disintegration in Turkey. Up to the proclamation of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Pasha encouraged and used the clergy, who alone, in those distracted days, maintained a considerable influence over the common people. But once he was in sure control, Mustafa Kemal made it his first task to break the power of the clergy, for in the history of Turkey this "black power" has been consistently and inevitably against serious reform. The clergy retorted with the Kurdish rebellion, and lost. The Caliph was sent to share the exile of the rest of the family of Osman. Education was taken completely out of clerical control. Mosque endowments were largely diverted to educational channels. When Western law was substituted for the *Sheriat,* and the monasteries suppressed, the last clerical strongholds were dispersed.

Islam in Turkey was thus left not only leaderless, but unfashionable. In Constantinople the mosque was largely abandoned to the reactionary, the aged and the ignorant. The worship was conducted in the sacred Arabic tongue, the study of which had disappeared from all schools.

Turkish translations of the Koran are no new thing. After the Constitution was proclaimed in 1908, a newspaper started to print a translation day by day, but the clergy succeeded in putting a stop to this sacrilege before

it had gone very far. Since 1920, at least three translations have appeared, none of which can be said to have won any striking degree of public approval.[1] For several years past the Government is known to have been preparing a translation. In May, 1930, a credit of 6,000 *liras* (roughly $3,000) was voted by the Assembly to continue this work, not without a good deal of grumbling from certain members, who thought that the money could have been better employed in issuing steel plows to peasants.

Those who had troubled to read these translations seemed considerably disappointed. All the fire and life, the mystery, music and magic of the Koran had been lost. In the hands of the translators the Koran had turned to stone. The Turkish Koran found no place in the mosque, and its functions in the home were largely decorative.

The Fast of Ramadan in 1932 ran through January and into February. This period (like Lent among the Christians) is the time when many people, who otherwise scarcely give religion a thought, indulge in a more or less thorough religious housecleaning. The fast was more than half way through, when, without previous warning, the following notice appeared in the *Milliyet* (January 22nd) and in other papers:

"Today at 2 o'clock, Yashar Bey, late chief of the oriental music group of the Presidential orchestra, will chant the Turkish Koran at the Yerebatan Mosque. (This is the smallish mosque built on top of the famous Underground Cistern near St. Sophia.) It is probable that Hafiz Yashar Bey will choose the 'Ya Sin' Sura, the Turkish of which is as follows: . . .

"Hafiz Yashar Bey's style and voice will be certain to enhance the effectiveness of this Turkish passage, and Hafiz Yashar will forever retain the honor of having been the first *hafiz* to recite their religious books to Turks in their own tongue. We hope that many other *hafiz* will follow Hafiz Yashar Bey's lead and begin to recite to their admiring hearers in their own tongue."

That afternoon there were scenes of considerable enthusiasm at the Yerebatan mosque. The experiment had been a definite success. Two days later three leading

1 About two years ago with the help of the publisher of one of these texts the writer prepared an estimate of the sales enjoyed by the Turkish Korans. The figure as I remember it was about 8,000 in all, but this is not to be relied on.

men (carefully attended by flocks of industrious newspaper men) recited from the Turkish Koran in three mosques. The *Milliyet* (January 25th) describes the scene in the Seljuk mosque as follows:

"All faces turned towards Hafiz Yashar Bey as he recited first the original of the 'Anbiya' Sura and then repeated it in Turkish. 'The day of man's reckoning draws nigh!" he cried. A sound of sobbing broke from the lines of worshippers. They were listening with eyes half-closed in trance, rosaries clicking through their fingers. 'Tell them that God hears every word spoken in heaven and on earth. God sees and hears all!' Some nodded, some groaned, 'Oh Lord God!' Some audibly repented of their sins.

"One thing was certain, that the congregation, listening for the first time to God's Word from this pulpit, was touched as never before. When some passages were being chanted, the people were almost beside themselves. When the verse, 'Everything shall taste of death,' was pronounced, the heads of the congregation fell forward on their breasts.

"Now raising, now lowering his voice, but without once changing the natural melody of the original, Hafiz Yashar Bey reached the end of the Sura. It was evident that many of the congregation would have sat till morning provided they might have continued listening to the Turkish Koran."

The account closes with a list of the five mosques in which the Turkish Koran could be heard on the following day. By the 27th the *Milliyet* gave up seven columns to the movement—more perhaps than had been devoted to religious topics by that important daily for years:

"The reciting of the Turkish Koran, which has opened a new era in our religious history, continues to gather support and approval. Scarcely a single innovation has hitherto won such widespread sympathy and support in this country. Any mosque in which the Turkish Koran is to be recited is immediately filled to overflowing. . . .

"For the past day or two certain religious writers have been claiming that the current translations of the Koran are mistaken and faulty, and that a worthy translation does not exist. On this subject a person in whose authority we have the greatest confidence has given us the following statement: 'The current translations are accurate. No one can accuse them of outstanding mistakes. Perhaps some improvements in style and language could be made, but this will come gradually.'"

On January 29th nearly ten thousand people made their way into the great mosque of Sultan Ahmet, where a choir of eight *hafiz*-readers made the great building ring with the Turkish Koran. On that day Smyrna had its first taste of the Turkish Koran in two mosques. Trebizond and other Black Sea towns soon followed suit.

On the 30th, for perhaps the first time since the Turks embraced the Faith, the Call to Prayer sounded in Turkish from the mosque of Mohammed, the Conqueror. The Mufti of Istanbul was moved to issue orders that only those properly qualified by a certificate from his office might publicly read or chant the Turkish Koran.

The "Night of Decree," the climax of the Moslem religious year, that night on which the Prophet visited heaven and saw Allah's face, and on which men's fates are appointed, fell last year on February 3rd. The service at the mosque of Saint Sophia is always one of the world's impressive spectacles. One looks down from majestic galleries upon a liquid mass of humanity rising and falling in rhythmic waves at the behest of the wild, triumphant cries of the muezzins, while the historic temple almost shakes with the thunder of knees as those thousands prostrate themselves. Then follows a moment of awful silence, sufficient even to halt the tongues of the chatty sight-seers.

Last year's service may easily have been the most remarkable since the Turks came to Constantinople. Thirty *hafiz*-reciters, it was announced, would read the Turkish Koran, and the entire service would be broadcast by radio. By four o'clock in the afternoon hundreds of men, women and children were gathered at the doors, and shortly after the sunset prayer the doors had to be closed again in the face of thousands. So densely was the mosque packed that during the ensuing *namaz* hundreds had no room to prostrate themselves and were compelled to remain standing or seated. An American estimate of their numbers is as low as ten thousand, but the press reports were three to four times that number, with an additional thirty thousand in the courtyard.

After the evening *namaz,* singers in various parts of the building were to chant the *"Mevlid"* or Birth-song of the Prophet, which for five centuries has been the favorite religious poem of the Turks. So the congregation broke ranks, and struggled to get within hearing of the singers.

The scene defies description. The roar from this human whirlpool was like the thunder of rivers or of an earthquake. Above it soared the high quivering voices of the *hafiz* sounding the opening lines of the *"Mevlid:"*

> "Let us invoke God's name in the beginning,
> In every act this keeps his slaves from sinning."

At half past eight the muezzins lifted their voices in an overpowering cry, "God is great!" But no longer was this the *"Allahu Akbar!"* which rings in the ears of the Faithful from the Western Sea to the Pacific Islands. *"Tanri uludur!"* they affirmed—Tanri, the sky-god, who had brooded over the infancy of the Turkish peoples in their fertile homelands of Central Asia ages before.

A thrill of excitement laid its hold on that vast concourse—excitement that communicated itself to another great crowd standing under falling snow in front of loud-speakers in Angora's main square, and even to aliens seated by their radio sets in Bulgaria and Roumania. With that cry something deep and long-pent surged from the Turkish heart. Men felt that in that moment the religious life of the Turkish Republic took a definite turn.

Islam in Turkey was still alive, solid, mighty—and national. The new and foaming wine of Mustafa Kemal was brimming the ancient bottles of Mohammed. Tonight the Turks were tearing their religious life free from the senseless clutch of the withered hand of Arabia. One remembered how important had been a similar moment amid similar scenes of excitement in the life of the Bulgarians, when at last they broke free from their Greek oppressors and worshipped again in their own tongue.

Istanbul, Turkey. F. LYMAN MACCALLUM.

ISLAM AND MODERN EDUCATION

The desire to revive and also to modernize Arab culture, combined with a closer contact with Western life and thought, has led to great changes in the Islamic system of education throughout the Near East. Egypt and Turkey have been and are most prominent in this new movement, but Syria, Palestine and Iraq are also deeply affected by it, though in a somewhat different manner. In strange contrast with the desire for Western culture, seen in both Egypt and Turkey, is a growing dislike and suspicion of the great Powers. The reason for the somewhat different attitude assumed by Turkey, as compared with that of Egypt, may be due in the first place to the adoption by the former of a Republican form of Government, and to her desire to have everything purely national and Ottoman. Further, she has, or at any rate thinks she has, extra cause for distrust of the Western powers since the conclusion of the Great War. Egypt, on the other hand, has had the benefit of years of British influence and of better government. This is generally recognized by the best of the Egyptians themselves, in spite of the present demand for complete independence.

A further important difference lies in the fact that, in Egypt, the desire is to preserve the religious basis of Islamic education, adapting it to modern requirements, and, at the same time, making it possible for Egypt to be the leading Moslem Power, their faith coming first. In Turkey, nationalism now assumes the more prominent place, and the faith of Islam is a secondary consideration. There is the same intense desire for all that is modern and scientific, but it must be Turkish, little attention now being given to the Arabic language or litera-

ture. Though secular subjects assume the more prominent position, a regular course of religious instruction is provided "for the children of the Republic," and graded courses are published. The following is quoted from the section designed for the third grade of primary and village schools, and was accepted by the Educational Commission of the Department of Public Instruction in June, 1928:

"In Islam there are no specially appointed leaders, corresponding to the priests of Christianity. Everyone is equal. Every Muslim who knows how to perform the functions of imam and muezzin, can give the call to worship. However, in Christianity it is not so; if there is no priest they cannot worship." [1]

Concerning festivals this booklet says:

"Our *Bayram* days are our days of greatest joy. The greatest of our national *Bayram* days is the 29th of October. On that day, patriotic Turks who wished to protect their fatherland, gathered together in Ankara, opened the Great National Assembly, and, assuming the leadership of the nation, entered upon the War of Independence. . . .

"These are our national holidays. Besides these we also have religious holidays. After having fulfilled the order of God by observing the Month of Fasting (Ramazan), we celebrate three days of Candy (Sheker) Bayram. We also have Sacrifice (Kurban) Bayram, which is likewise of religious significance." [2]

Faith, both religious and national is defined as follows:

"The Muslim religion consists of belief in Allah and in our prophet, who taught mankind about Islam. We call believing in Allah and the prophet 'Faith'. Allah, who created the Universe and us, is the 'Powerful One'. What he is, nor how he is, we do not completely know, he is very great. . . . You see, children, faith unites people, gives people strength and joy. To believe in Allah, the Prophet, and the religion of Islam is religious faith.

"We also have a national faith. We are Turks, Turks are civilized. Our country will always go forward, and will always conquer our enemies. When the name 'Turk' is spoken, my chest swells with pride, my head goes up. I love people who are useful to my nation, and my country. Those who do harm to my beloved country, I do not love at all." [3]

Religion is thus described:

"The following two phrases make known the religion of Islam. It means 'God is One, there is no other God but God, and Mohammed

1 Prof. Abdulbaqi's "Religious Lessons for the Children of the Republic," Stamboul, 1929, Chap. II.
2 Ibid, Chap. III.
3 Ibid, Chap. V.

is the Prophet of God.' Those who believe in the meaning of these words are Moslems. You see, children, Islam is the easiest and truest religion.

"The sacred Book of the Moslems is the Koran. God's orders are written in this book. We respect the Koran very much. This is the sacred book, which teaches us all the beauties of morality." [4]

The Lesson on Pilgrimages contains the following:

"Henceforth Mecca became a centre for Islam, and the Prophet found a fatherland of his own. Thus Islam after that time began to spread on every side." . . . "Thus you see, children, there cannot be religion without a fatherland. If we had not struggled in the War of Independence, if we had not saved our fatherland, to-day neither government nor country would remain." [5]

Chapter XIII is entitled "Faith in God" and says:

"Our great prophet taught us the Muslim faith, he set forth God's wishes. God is the great power and force who has created the earth, sky, us and everything. The power and force that is in everybody and everything is His power and force. He is everywhere, but nothing is God. In everything that we see there is His power and art. God is not a man like us, He has no palace or mansion. We need no doorkeepers or ministers in order to talk to Him. There is no need to flatter anyone in order to find God. When we think as our ancestors said, 'nobody can come between God and man,' and when we remember Him, we know that He is with us. He is in our hearts. He sees and feels us because all our seeing, knowledge and feeling is with His strength and power, and from Him. Our little mind does not know thoroughly the great God who is in everything, in every place and in our hearts. But this is certain, that in order to approach Him there is no need of Hocas and Imams. They are only teachers of religion. They teach religion to those who do not know. The men who try to come between God and the people are ignorant, deceiving liars, who do not understand the Muslim faith, and who do not know God.

"The great God is always with us, always found with us, has no stopping place and no residence. His picture and statue cannot be made, and to think of Him, to love Him is the greatest form of worship. As to the worship of men who have no love of God in their heart, it is blind and dry. Those who try to worship without feeling the beauties of the earth and the mercy and greatness of God, the blessing which He gives to us, are those who make a mere form of worship, and such worship is never acceptable.

"The moon, sun, stars, man, animals, and all the world is like a book which tells of the greatness and oneness and existence of God. The prophets read and understand this book and also tell and inform us, behold this is the true message of God. If one thinks, he finds God in every place, he sees His power in everything. The last of the prophets is our Prophet. Henceforth, no prophet will come. He proclaimed God and His commandments to us, and he has gone, leaving us the Holy Koran.

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4 Prof. Abdulbaqi's "Religious Lessons for the Children of the Republic," Stamboul, Chap. VI.

5 Ibid, Chap. IX.

"We very much love our prophet, who taught us the Muslim Faith, which is a religion most suitable for the mind and civilization." [6]

In Syria the main problem is adaptation to the requirements of the French Mandate; in Palestine it is the conflict between Jewish and Arab aspirations and culture; in Iraq—on the whole less fanatically Moslem than Egypt, yet in some directions more orthodox—the struggle is chiefly between the new and modern forms of belief and orthodox customs. It is in Egypt, however, that the struggle between the old and the more modern forms of Islamic education presents the most interesting aspect, for here, as has always been the case throughout the history of Mohammedan education, the religious element occupies a prominent place. In this old system, well-known to all students of Islam, the study of the Koran was of paramount importance. To this was added Mohammedan jurisprudence, based chiefly on the Koran and the Traditions, while a more or less critical study of the Arabic language completed the curriculum. From time to time there have been efforts at reform, as seen for example in the work of Rashīd Rīda and others, but all demands for radical changes have hitherto met with strong opposition from the more orthodox sections of the community.

With such a religious basis, it is not surprising to find that the new critical attitude towards the Koran, as well as to the Traditions, has resulted in somewhat startling changes. There were, moreover, other forces at work besides that of modern criticism; the graduates of El Azhar were unable to obtain remunerative posts, because of competition with those who had received a more modern education, whether in the Government University in Egypt, or in European countries. It is interesting to note, in passing, that this demand for reform has come from the El Azhar students themselves, whereas when such changes were advocated by Muhammad Abduh and

6 Prof. Abdulbaqi's "Religious Lessons for the Children of the Republic," Stamboul, Chap. XIII on "Faith in God."

his party, it was the students who were the chief opponents of any change.

For a better understanding of the subject, a brief explanation of the educational system is needed. The University mosque, El Azhar, was built in 970 A. D., during the reign of the fourth of the Fatimite Caliphs. There is a general library known as "El Azhar Central Library," which was established in 1897 A. D., and contains 50,974 volumes, both printed and in manuscript. There are also branch libraries. In addition to these, there is a Turkish collection of over 6000 books, also others belonging to Syria and Upper Egypt, most of the latter being ancient manuscripts. The number of Professors and teachers is estimated as being between two and three hundred, the number of students between ten and twelve thousand. The greater proportion of these are Egyptian, and the rest from Syria, Turkey, Africa, Afghanistan, Iraq, Borneo, India, Java, Persia, and from other less important Moslem communities.[7] There is a Rector of the University, and an Assistant Rector, as well as a Board of Administration of twelve members, presided over by the Rector. "This board has the following duties, viz: the drafting of the budget (in 1925–1926 this was estimated as £94,670 sterling) ; the appointment, promotion, discharge and general control of professors, teachers and other officials of the University; the choice of text-books, the discipline of the students, also the control of the various revenues belonging to the Institution, many of which are bequests left by orthodox Muslims." [8] In addition to El Azhar, the most important of the Islamic Institutions, there are similar establishments in Alexandria, Tanta, Assiut, Damietta, and Zagazig. Simple Mosque Schools abound, not only in towns but in most of the villages.

For centuries the curriculum of El Azhar had remained practically unchanged. The whole course ex-

7 The foregoing information is taken from a Government paper on "Religion and Education," issued in 1926.

8 See article in *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1925, entitled "Al Azhar University," by Pierre Arninjon and Pierre Crabites.

tended over a period of twelve years, and was divided into three grades, each requiring four years of study. The conditions of entrance were that the candidates must be between ten and sixteen years of age, they should be able to read and write well, and to repeat the whole of the Koran from memory. They must be, moreover, of both good character and physical condition. The most important of the grades was the first, the subjects being theology and jurisprudence, based entirely on the Koran and the Traditions, also dogmatics proper and the art of reciting the Koran. The second grade dealt with the study of the Arabic language, including literature, grammar, rhetoric, special styles of Arabic writing, reading poetry and composition. The third grade included mathematics, astronomy and natural sciences, history and geography. Attendance at the El Azhar Mosque itself was necessary only for the last four years of the whole course. The work for the primary and secondary certificates could be, and generally was, done in various mosques in Cairo or other large towns of Egypt.

The second great educational system is that of the Egyptian Government. These schools are of the modern type, under the Ministry of Education, and include elementary training Colleges for men and women teachers, primary and secondary schools for boys and girls, a School of Law (there is a special course for Mohammedan Law), schools of agriculture, commerce, engineering, medicine and pharmacy, a Higher Training College for teachers, both men and women, also the Dar-al-'Ulum for training of Sheikhs. In addition to these, there are also technical, industrial and commercial schools in Cairo, Alexandria and other large towns.

Thus, there have been two systems of education, side by side in Egypt, the ancient and the modern (both primarily for Moslem students). With western influence always increasing, it was impossible that this could continue indefinitely, and ultimately reform was demanded by the students of El Azhar. They arranged for

successive delegations to put the whole matter before the Government. There was no opposition on the part of Government officials, as such, they even sympathized with the students. Muhammad Khalid Hassenein Bey, of the Religious Institutions Department, began reform in a very guarded way in 1925,[9] by removing the boys and girls, who had been accustomed to recite the Koran within the University precincts, to buildings outside, and by installing electric light, and improving the equipment. Very wisely, he did not begin by interfering with the religious side, what he wished to do was "to make necessary improvements in the conditions of life at the University, to strengthen the scientific side of the curriculum, and to bring the sources of study at El Azhar into line with those which are followed at the Government schools." It was also proposed that, instead of the students of the primary and secondary certificates studying in various mosque schools throughout the country, there should be specially equipped and modernized schools for them, and five such have already been begun, viz: in Cairo, Alexandria, Tanta, Zagazig, and Assiut.

How greatly the attitude of this educational reform movement in Egypt differs from that of Turkey will be seen in the following extracts from a précis of *"A defence of the Reforms in El Azhar"* made by Sheikh Muhammad Mustafah al Maraghy, Rector of the University, before King Fuad and the Prime Minister of Egypt.[10]

"Muhammadans should be encouraged to study for the sake of the faith. The Koran teaches us to observe creation, and urges us to acquire learning. The learned are on a higher plane than the ignorant. The intellectual leaders of the last century were mentally slothful and forbade original effort, resting content with traditional lore. Islam has had no adequate defenders, no real preachers. . . . Things have reached a stage when it is necessary to buttress up the faith, and not the *status quo* of El Azhar. We must not mind 'groans'—all reformations have been thus accompanied. The Koran and the Traditions must be carefully studied from the point of view of Arabic religious law and philosophy, but also from the laws of science and learning. We must, in commenting on them, *avoid everything which*

9 See "El Azhar to-day and to-morrow," by S. A. Morrison, M.A., C. M. S. Bookshop, Cairo.

10 See "Al Ahram," (Cairo) Aug. 5 and 7, 1928.

learning has shown to be false, and avoid contradictory interpretations. Doctrine and worship must be pruned of what is superfluous. . . . The call is to all. Adjustments must be made to reconcile varying centuries and countries.

"Provision should be made for El Azhar certificates to make it possible for students to enter Egyptian University in certain faculties. . . . When these reforms are carried out and El Azhar takes her right place, she will regain the confidence of Islamic peoples, and they will seek professors, teachers, and judges from among her graduates, especially if certain languages are studied in the course."

Of equal interest also are the findings of a Committee which met in Cairo during August and September of 1928, to consider the reorganization of the El Azhar University. This Committee was quite unanimous in the opinion that the standard of El Azhar must be raised both spiritually and intellectually in order that it might exert a greater influence, not only in Egypt but throughout the entire Moslem world. This result could be obtained only by observing the following conditions:

(a) The principles and laws of religion should be studied, as they were in the golden age of Islam, during which they were without fault or blemish.

(b) The primitive methods now used in teaching idiom and syntax in the Arabic language should be radically modified, if not entirely abandoned, and then a modern method, based on scientific ways should be adopted.[11]

While the greatest attention should be given to the study of religion and of Arabic in the primary and secondary courses, yet the curriculum should also include the subjects prescribed by the Ministry of Education for the primary and secondary schools throughout the country. If such a course were pursued, then El Azhar students would no longer be a class by themselves, as has so long been the case, but would be able to mingle more readily with the intelligentsia of Egypt, and also to make a valuable contribution to the faith and culture of the modern Islamic world.

11 Extracts from the Minutes of the "Committee for the Reorganization of the Azhar University."

Other and equally important changes must be made. The curriculum of the mosque schools should conform exactly to that of the Government schools, with the addition of a course in religious instruction, and with additional time given to Arabic. The whole matter of higher education was also discussed, reference being made to the better conditions prevailing in the Government educational system, and it was decided that, as soon as possible, new and better conditions generally must be introduced into El Azhar, if it were to continue to hold the high place it has hitherto held in the opinion of the Moslem world.

There is still very considerable controversy in Egypt regarding the modern movement in El Azhar, books and pamphlets on both sides are being published, as well as articles written in weekly and daily papers. The following is a translation of part of one of the latter:

"The Egyptian Government should not tolerate the advocacy and propagation of ideas which are contrary to the Koran. In the United States, when one of the teachers tried to explain the Darwinian theory of Evolution, he was expelled from the school by force of law, on the ground that what that theory taught was contrary to the main teaching of the Bible, and so the law did its share in protecting religion. However, I do not believe that the real aim of those people is to emancipate women and restore to them what they consider to be their lawful rights; their real aim is to divert and shake the faith of Muslims in their religion by picturing it as obsolete and unsuitable for our time. They want also to put an end to the Islamic movement and the wonderful union of 350 million Muslims who, since the New Turkish régime, look to Egypt for leadership.[12]

Brummana, Syria. ANNIE E. FOX.

12 From an article by Al-Said Rashīd Rīda in *Kawkab al Shark*, February 16th, 1930.

A LITERACY CAMPAIGN AMONG THE MOROS

(A MIRACLE IN LANAO)

At a meeting of the high *datos* of Lanao the first Monday in January, their leading spokesman said:

"Please tell the Governor-General for us that we do not want to be called Moros any longer. Everybody seems afraid of that name."

As soon as the world realizes what the Moros are now doing, nobody will want to change that name. "Moro" is taking on a new meaning. A few years hence it will connote a blessing to the Philippines as truly as it formerly connoted terror. For the Moros of Lanao have started upon a new conquest with all the fiery enthusiasm which burns in their veins. This is a conquest of learning instead of a conquest of "Infidels."

It was very natural for them to look with suspicion upon the public schools. The Moros are Mohammedans and knew only the Arabic letters which they regarded as sacred. The public schools taught a new alphabet, a new language, new ideas. The teachers were Christians. A few unwise Filipino teachers lost their hearts to the girls in their schools and tried the Don Juan method of love making. These foolish young men brought death upon themselves and discredit upon all the other schools. The girls were taken out of the schools, fifty buildings were burned and the system was severely crippled. That was the situation only six years ago.

Of late it has become clear to many Moros that in opposing education, they were hurting only themselves. A man who opens a book and cannot understand it might as well be blind. He is the victim of all sorts of fraud,

and he constantly suspects those who mean to be honest. It is silly to be blind when seeing is so important. Realizing this, the Moros began to swing backward toward education. This was the situation two years ago when we reached Lanao.

We came to Lanao to start a teachers' college. We found that there were so few educated Moros that the idea was impracticable. We had to start where the Moros were, that is to say, at the bottom. The first thing was to adopt an alphabet. Some three or four thousand Maranaws could read and write with Arabic letters, but none of them could write Maranaw with Roman letters, not even the school children. We adopted the Roman spelling in all the Filipino dialects with the exception of one vowel. We pronounce "u" as in the word "shut," and use "w" for a vowel as in the word "two." This has proven so satisfactory that one wishes all the dialects might adopt it.

Then we secured a small printing press, printed a little paper and began to teach the Maranaws how to read. We hunted up all the books we could find on teaching illiterates and tried endless experiments of our own. A year after we began, we stumbled upon a real invention. We found a key which made teaching incredibly easy. The key contains three words, each word containing four consonants. These twelve consonants are all the Maranaw dialect needs. By varying the vowels, it is therefore possible to construct every Moro word out of the key words.

"Malabang" is a town in southern Lanao,
"karatas" is the Maranaw word for paper and
"paganad" means learn or study.

The teaching of this chart is very easy and rapid if it is done in exactly the proper manner. If not used properly, the chart has no advantages over other methods. The teacher starts by saying something to get the student keenly awake, for example:

"Thousands of people are learning all the letters in less than one hour. See how bright you are."

Then turning to the chart, the teacher says: "Have you ever been to Malabang?"

When the student answers "yes" or "no," the teacher says:

"In our school, we call it ma-la-ba-nga . . . ma-la-ba-nga. Say it after me ma-la-ba-nga. Now say it alone as I point to each syllable."

Student (while teacher points): "Ma-la-ba-nga."

Teacher (points to "ma"): What is this?

Student (answers): "Ma."

Teacher (pointing to the word "mama"): Here is "ma" and here is "ma" again. Say "ma" twice.

Student: "Ma ma."

Teacher (points to "ma" and then to "la"): What is this, and this?

Student: "Ma la."

Teacher (points to "mala"): This is also "mala." Say it.

Student: "Ma la."

Teacher (points to "la"): What is this?

Student: "La."

Teacher (points to "lala"): Say "la" twice.

Student: "La la."

This process continues until we reach the word "mimi." Then the teacher says while pointing: "ma-mi-mo-mu." Say it after me. "Ma-mi-mo-mu." Point to "mi."

Student (points and says): "Mi."

Teacher (points to the word "mimi"): Say "mi" twice.

Student: "Mi mi."

So we follow the words just as they occur in succession. They have been selected with great care so that there will not be a single steep grade in the entire chart. The astonishing ease of learning the chart is due to this easy gradation from one word to the next.

When the chart is completed, the student is given some easy interesting reading and begins to piece out the story for himself. It is only a matter of practice until he becomes a proficient reader. He is then given the "pen print" copy book and asked to fill it with writing.

We have a chart on our wall showing how many Maranaws have learned to read each month for the past year and a half. Altogether, there have been over thirty thousand names reported to us. For the past four months, there have been three thousand new names sub-

mitted every month. If the present rate, or even half the present rate can be maintained, it will be possible to teach practically all the people in the province to read in four or five years. The total number who can now read, must be about 34,000 or one-third of the population. Nearly everybody who passes our central office has already learned.

It is thrilling to see these people stepping out of the prison of illiteracy and beginning to read for the first time. Many are wild with enthusiasm and cannot understand why all the world does not want to stop and listen to them reading. It is, for them, *the* event in history. They are right in feeling its importance. They are stepping out of barbarism into civilization.

There are now nearly four hundred volunteer teachers scattered over the province. They are permitted to charge their pupils or students if they wish and can, but they seldom do so. Among the teachers are listed a number of prominent *datos,* sultans and *panditas.* These men sometimes work for the sheer patriotism of the project, and sometimes because it enhances their position in the community.

A teachers' meeting is held every month for the purpose of aiding the teachers and stimulating their enthusiasm. One doubts whether we could have a real campaign without this meeting. We have paid the travel expenses of the teachers until the last two months. Then we tried the experiment of killing a cow and providing all the teachers and *datos* with a banquet. This proved cheaper and more enjoyable.

The teachers' meetings are always exciting. We seldom prepare a fixed program because developments come so fast that we cannot tell what the next minute may bring forth. It may be a strike of teachers who think they ought to be paid. It may be an oration by some high *dato,* so full of brilliant utterances that all the assembled teachers and *datos* break forth in continuous applause. It may be some *dato* demanding that

he alone shall have the right to teach in his district. It is never opposition to our schools.

In January, 1932, we organized a committee consisting of nearly a hundred of the leading *datos* of the province, who have entire responsibility for their respective municipalities. They are supposed to discover new teachers, and to offer advice of all kinds. It was one of the most fortunate steps we have taken. As one *dato* said: "Nobody before has ever invited all the *datos* to join in such a committee. Everybody is pleased. If the public schools had adopted this method, all the children would now be in school."

Preparing the literature for them to read rapidly enough to keep ahead of the demand has proven our greatest problem. The people of Lanao, the Maranaws, are not greatly interested in the literature of other lands or even from Manila. They *are* enormously interested in their own literature. In Capatagan they tore each page into four pieces to satisfy the hungry people.

The number of songs which they possess is incredible to one who has not learned their language. They have at least thirty-five long epic poems ranging from twenty to one hundred printed pages in length. In addition to these, they have many prose stories resembling the Arabian Nights. They also possess *kisas,* or stories of the ancient prophets. They are supposed to memorize the names of seventy-two prophets, all but two or three of whom are mentioned in the Bible as well as in the Koran. They are also very fond of lyric poems, which may be found by the thousands.

While several hundred pages have been written by hand in Arabic letters, nothing had ever been printed from all the Maranaw poetry or prose until we began our press. The greater part of their literature had never been written. Mr. Panggaga Mickey, one of the best singers in the province, has written nearly fifteen hundred pages of songs and stories on the typewriter. We are printing these as rapidly as we can, beginning with

those which are most popular and which sell best. The stories of the prophets are running a close race with the epics.

We are preparing and printing also many useful books which have been translated from English, in the realm of health, government, history, geography, business, morals and religion. We are also endeavoring to prepare a book on the most important laws in the Philippines, for the Maranaws are forever getting penalized for ignorance of the law.

We publish a four-page periodical called *Totwl Ko Ranaw,* which contains such world news as will interest or help the people. Chiefly, it contains news of the province and is a valuable aid in disseminating information about our literacy progress. An American planter told me he believed the *Totwl* I sent him had been read a thousand times!

It will probably be impossible to maintain the extraordinary record of 3,000 a month taught to read which we achieved during the last four months of 1931. The more accessible students have already learned to read. We find it necessary to push out into the remoter districts where the people are wilder and more conservative.

It is safe to prophesy that, unless something wholly unforeseen should interfere, the Moro province will be the most literate province in the Philippine Islands before the next census is taken. There is one other possibility—that the other provinces may take up the literacy movement in real earnest. The Educational Committees of both the Senate and the House are studying the system at the present time and may present bills to extend it throughout the Islands. Dean Francisco Benitez, chairman of the Literacy Committee established by the Legislature, and Acting Governor-General Butte have expressed enthusiasm for the idea, as have many other leaders.

Last year, Dr. Warnshuis and Dr. Butterfield, both

prominent in religious and humanitarian circles in America, held hearings in this country and came into contact with this system. Both pronounced it the finest they had seen in any country in the world. The National Christian Council representing all the Evangelical bodies in the Philippines made the literacy campaign one of its major interests. At the invitation of Mr. Higdon, its secretary, we spent several weeks in Manila, San Fernando, Vigan, Iloilo and Cebu, meeting with eager groups and preparing the system in the principal Filipino dialects,—thirteen in all,—Ibanag, Kalinga, Ifugao, Ilocano, Pangasinan, Pampango, Tagalog, Bicol, Visayan (Cebuano, Samarino, Ilongo), Joloano and Maranaw.

After toiling for a year to find a satisfactory key for the Maranaw dialect, it seemed a miracle that keys could be found for the other dialects with such great ease. The key must contain all the consonants in use in the dialect, each consonant only once, and always followed by the vowel "a". Furthermore the key must be well known and easy to remember, and no word of the key must contain more than four consonants. It is these conditions that make the discovery of the key a real cross-word puzzle. We have thus far an opportunity to develop the system in only one language outside the Philippines, the Sindhi, a Bombay dialect of India. Dato Pambaya, one of our teachers, made a pilgrimage to Mecca this year and carried the Bombay chart with him, with introductions to leaders who would be interested. Some work has also been done toward the preparation of charts in Amoy and Cantonese Chinese, but this has proven complicated by the seven intonations of each vowel. We have gone far enough, however, to know that it can be done.

The possibilities of a world literacy movement enkindle the imagination. Professor D. J. Fleming says: "Two out of three inhabitants of our globe have still to be taught how to read and write. The United States may send its hundreds of teachers to the Philip-

pines and make these Islands a world model for educational progress, but there are a billion more who need this help."

The man who cannot read is in a prison. His horizon must be very narrow since it depends entirely upon what he hears from his neighbors. He is always a follower, unable to assume any intelligent leadership in the world. He is easily victimized by any clever scoundrel. He is as blind and deaf to all the marvels that lie hidden in books as are the carabaos and dogs.

We are dreaming dreams of the emancipation of these billion people. If we can find a method so easy that in an hour or even a day the darkness of their minds can be lifted, it seems to us that a wave of hope will sweep around the world and that in a very few decades every normal person will be lifted up to the level which men ought to occupy. These are the thoughts with which our group of teachers and printers in Lanao stimulate their zeal to white heat. If there is a group of real world thinkers anywhere in the Philippines today, they are the teachers of the Lanao Folk Schools,—and they are Mohammedans.

We know that we have found the easy way to learn. Now we are preparing a group of the best minds among the teachers, so that when the call comes to go to some other country and help them set up a literacy campaign along the Lanao lines, these young men will be able to prepare the key in other dialects, to set up the machinery and to train teachers. We believe that the call is coming. We never saw any cause which seems to us to deserve help more than this. We know that men of great wealth and world influence are already interested.

Lanao, P. I. FRANK LAUBACH.

THE CREED OF AL-SANUSI

Dogmatics in Sunnī Islam includes the doctrine of God and the doctrine of apostleship, to which the Shī'a add the doctrine of the imāmate. The science is called *'ilm al-tawḥīd,* the science of declaring the Unity (of God) and also *'ilm al-kalām.* These terms are explained by Muḥammad 'Abduh [1] thus: *"Tawḥīd* is a science in which is discussed the existence of God and what attributes must be affirmed of Him, what it is permissible to affirm and what must be denied of Him; and concerning apostles (*rusul*), what constitutes their apostleship and what they must be, what may be said of them and what is forbidden to be said concerning them. The root idea of *tawḥīd* is the belief that God is one, without a partner. The science is thus named by its chief part, viz., as establishing the oneness of God in His essence and in His work in creation and that He alone is the goal and final end of every purpose. . . . It is also called *'ilm al-kalām,* because of the very famous question on which the 'Ulamā of the first centuries differed as to whether the Qur'an as read is temporal or eternal; or because its structure is that of rational proof . . . ; or because in exhibiting methods of deduction for the fundamentals of religion it most resembles Logic in attending to the processes of argument in the demonstrative sciences, and *kalām* was substituted for *manṭiq* (logic) to distinguish between them." [2]

There are a number of systematic statements of the doctrine, or abstracts, more or less condensed. They are

1 *Risālat al-tawḥīd,* Cairo, al-Khairīya Press, 1343.

2 M. 'Abduh possibly comes nearest the truth here, since the term seems to be the rendering of the Greek *logos.* Al-Taftazānī offers eight alternative explanations of its origin. D. B. Macdonald suggests the connection: (Gr.) *logos,* (Syr.) *melletha,* (Ar.) *al-kalām.* See his article s. v. Kalām in the Encyc. of Islam.

generally referred to in English as creeds, by which it is not meant that they are official or authoritative in the way some Christian bodies regard their creeds. That concept is foreign to Islam. But just as a *shaikh* by his piety and learning secures a following, so some of these creeds have won a wide currency on account of their acceptableness. A few have been translated into English.[3] The one offered herewith in part[4] in translation is much favored because of its being brief and yet complete. It is called *al-Sanūsīya* in short, after its author, Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. Shu'aib al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, d. 985/1490.[5] It is also called *Umm al-barāhīn* (the mother of proofs) and in full *'Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā.* (The Shortest Doctrine of the People of the Unity.) Such creeds are used as the text (*matn*) for annotation, and I use Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Baijūrī's Commentary on the Sanūsīya.[6]

AL-SANUSIYA

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: praise belongs to God, and mercy and peace[7] on the Apostle of God.

Know that rational judgment is restricted to the three

3 The Appendix to D. B. Macdonald's *"Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory,"* Scribner's Sons, 1903, contains: A Short Creed of al-Ash'arī; A Short Creed of al-Ghazzālī; Articles of Belief of Najm Ad-Dīn Abū Hafs al-Nasafī; The Creed Called the Sufficiency of the Commonalty in the Science of Scholastic Theology by Muḥammad al-Fadālī. To these may be added *Al-Bāb al-Hādī 'Ashar* of Abū Mansūr al-Hasan bin Yūsuf bin 'Alī al-Hillī, translated by William M. Miller, published by The Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1928.

4 The section on the Doctrine of Apostleship will follow in a later issue.

5 Encyc. of Islam, s. v. al-Sanūsī.

6 Ed. Cairo, 1343 of Al-Tawfīq Press with Shihāb Al-Anbābī's notes on the margin.

7 Baijūri—hereafter B.—*"salāt* has three meanings, 1st, lexical only, and it is a calling-on (*du'ā*) generally, and it is said, for good; 2nd, legal only, and it consists of sounds and actions beginning with the *takbir* and ending with pronouncing of the peace; and 3d, both lexical and legal, and the generality say with reference to God it is mercy (*raḥmah*), and with reference to angels it is seeking forgiveness (for others) and for all others, though a tree or a stone or a clod, supplication and calling on, because it is established that these things offered *salāt* for him." Under *salām* "Its meaning is security (*amān*), with the meaning of his (Muḥammad's) being secured from the things his people fear, for he is exempt (*ma'sūm*), and how should he fear for himself?" Lane's *Lexicon* s. v. *salama* translates the common verbal form of this honorific "May God bless him and save him!"

divisions of necessity (*al-wujūb*), impossibility (*al-istiḥālah*) and permissibility (*al-jawāz*).[8]

The necessary (*al-wājib*) is that the non-existence of which cannot be rationally conceived;[9] the impossible (*al-mustaḥīl*) is that the existence of which cannot rationally be conceived; the permissible (*al-jā'iz*) is that the existence or non-existence of which is (equally) suitable in reason. And it is incumbent legally (*shar'an*)[10] on every responsible being to know regarding our Lord, exalted and glorious is He, what is necessary, what is impossible and what is permissible, and likewise it is incumbent to know the same regarding apostles, mercy and peace on them! Now of what is necessary as to our Lord, exalted and glorious is He, there are twenty Attributes (*ṣifah, ṣifāt*)[11] which are (1) Existence[12] and (2)

8 As D. B. Macdonald has pointed out in several of his publications, this is the usual trilogy by which the subject is approached. Al-Sanūsī will use the terms mainly to classify his Attributes. Others define the terms as necessary being, impossible being, etc., and from these definitions prove God's necessary existence before discussing the Attributes.

9 B. Know that this is the meaning of *wajaba* as used technically in this science, but not as when they say *yajibu 'alā kulli mukallaf* (it is incumbent on every responsible being), for here it has the ordinary meaning, viz., for something the doing of which is rewarded and the omission of it punished.

10 B. On the ground that all judgments are established legally, i. e., by divine institution, but conditioned by reason (according to Al-Ash'ari), as opposed to the Māturidiya, who say that the necessity of knowing God is established by reason because of its self-evidence, while other judgments are not; and as opposed to the Mu'tazila, who say that all judgments are established by reason, and that the law came only to confirm them.

11 B's definition is: *tutlaq al-sifah 'alā al-ma'nā al-wujūdi al-qā'im bi'l-mawsūf wa 'alā mā laisa bi'l-dhāt* i. e., the (word) attribute is used technically for an ontal ideal reality subsisting in that which is described, and for what is not essence. (This rendering of *ma'nā* will be discussed later. A definition by a Protestant theologian of the past (Twesten) may be compared with the first part of Baijūri's: *Notiones intrinsece essentiam divinam determinantes.*) This definition is applicable here, for, of these twenty, some are ontal, like Power and Will, and some are states (*ḥāl, aḥwāl*), like Being Powerful and Being Willing, and some are negative, like Priority and Duration. And when al-Sanūsi says these necessary ones are twenty, it is founded on the statement that things (*shay', ashyā*) are four, viz: (1) existent things which may be seen (but sight here includes "spiritual" as well as physical sight), (2) things without being, (3) states, which are intermediary between these, and (4) relations, and not according to the statement which denies states, founded on the method which declares things are three, which is preferable.

12 B. There is a difference (of opinion) regarding existence, and some say it is the very existent thing itself, which is the statement of Abū'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari, while some say it is other than the existent thing, which is the statement of the Imām al-Rāzi, and in accord with this there is the famous definition that "existence is the necessary state of an essence as long as the essence continues in the condition of being unaffected by any cause." . . . However, the *mutakallims* have differed about this matter widely.

Priority[13] and (3) Duration[14] and (4) His Difference from Originated Things and (5) His Self-subsistence, i. e., He has no need of a *locus* nor of a specifier;[15] and (6) Unity, i. e., He has no second in His essence nor in His Attributes nor in His acts.[16]

These are six Attributes, the first is *nafsīyah* (personal, or essential since it refers to the *dhāt*), and the five after it are *salbīyah* (negative, i. e., their meaning is negative). Then God necessarily has seven[17] Attributes called the Attributes of Ideal Realities (*ṣifāt ma'ānī*)[18] viz., (7) Power[19] and (8) Will,[20] both having connec-

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[13] B. As regards God, it is denial of firstness or, if you wish, denial of a beginning. In regard to any other than He, prior means ancient or old . . . the truth is that it is proper to use it of God, as established by Agreement.

[14] B. As regards God, it is unendingness or, if you wish, unceasing existence.

[15] B. *Locus* (*maḥall*), i. e., an essence in which to inhere, and not a place in which to abide; nor of a specifier, i. e., a bringer into being. . . . Know that existences are divided into four parts with reference to *locus* and specifier: (1) a part does not need either, the essence of God, (2) a part needs both, the *accidentia* of originated things, (3) a part does not need a *locus* but needs a specifier, the essence of originated things, and (4) a part subsists in a *locus* and does not need a specifier, the Attributes of God.

[16] B. The divisions of Unity are three. Unity of essence, meaning the absence of composition and of multiplicity in it . . . ; and Unity in attributes, meaning the absence from His essence of plurality of attributes of one kind, as if He had two Powers or more, etc., and the denial of another's having an attribute like an Attribute of God . . . ; and Unity in acts, meaning the denial of any act to another than God, and the denial of any one's sharing in His act. . . . For whatsoever acts there be are all referred to God and He has no second therein, since man has no share except appropriation (*kasb*), as against the Mu'tazila, who say that man creates his own acts of free-will by a power created in him by God, and against the Jabariya, who said that man is under compulsion to act as he does as the feather moves in the wind.

[17] Classification of the Attributes is as various as in Christian theology. Here we have: Personal, Negative, Ideal Realities, and there follow the seven Ideal Modalities. These constitute the twenty Necessary, of which the twenty Impossible are just the opposites, and the one Permissible make up the usual forty-one. These readily reduce to twelve, viz., Nos. two to thirteen in the text. It is never right to say there are *seven* Attributes.

[18] The word *ma'nā, ma'āni,* has a specific meaning in this literature. Prof. D. B. Macdonald has used "idea" in his work, and so it is used in W. M. Miller's "Translation of the *Bāb al-Hādi-'Ashar.*" This may answer if thereby is meant not just a concept in the mind but an "idea" with a (late) Platonic implication, as something existing, in this case, in the divine essence.

[19] B. It is an ontal (*wujūdi,* as opposed to *'adami* not-having-being) Attribute subsisting in God's essence, by which is brought into existence *wujūd,* or into non-existence *'adam* every possible thing (*wujūd and 'adam* were both conceived of as positive, in the sense that either could be added to a "thing," which would then rise into being or sink into non-being.)

[20] B. It is an ontal Attribute subsisting in His essence, which specifies for the possible a part of the specifications it might have. These specifications are "the twelve mutual opposers," viz., existence or non-existence and any one, rather than another, specific quality, time, place, direction and quantity.

tion (*ta'alluq*) with all possible existences,[21] and (9) Knowledge, having connection with all possible, necessary and impossible things,[22] and (10) Life, having no connection (*ta'alluq*) with anything,[23] and (11, 12) Hearing and Seeing, having connection with all things existent,[24] and (13) Speech, which is not by letter nor sound, having connection with whatever knowledge connects.[25]

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[21] The relation of these two Attributes and of the other five to the world are expressed by *ta'alluq*, a being dependent on. Al-Baijūri names eight kinds of this connection. The subject is too far-reaching to go into here. Also in this connection, I would say, and I think all missionaries to Moslem lands will agree, that a complete glossary of theological-philosophical terms would be most welcome.

[22] B. It is an ontal Attribute subsisting in His essence, whose connection with each thing is all-comprehensive, but with no previous concealment implied.

[23] B. It is an ontal Attribute, which when present assures to Him perception, i. e., He is described with the Attributes of perception which are Knowledge, Hearing and Seeing, and like these are the remaining Attributes, such as Power and Will. And this definition applies appropriately to Prior Life and not to life of originated things.

[24] B. They are, in respect of God, two ontal Attributes, subsisting in His essence, having connection with all existent things comprehensively, which is a connection over and above the connection of Knowledge. . . . The "all" includes the necessary and the contingent and in "things" enter colors and sounds but not conditions (*kawns*) such as conjunction (*ijtimā'*) and disjunction (*iftirāq*) and motion and rest, for these are matters of relation.

[25] B. It is an ontal Attribute subsisting in His essence, free from any "before" or "after," modulation and construction or soundness and weakness (of letters), etc. And its connection is the same as that of Knowledge, of things necessary, possible and impossible, but it is a connection of indicating (*dalālah*) and not of uncovering (*inkishāf*). It is one Attribute, but varies in kind according to its connection, when connected with commanding it is a command, or with forbidding it is a restraint, or with promising it is a promise, etc. And all these connections are prior and effective, except command and forbidding, which, according to the Ashā'ira, have prior potential connection before the existence of responsible beings, and temporal effective connection after such come into being. As Speech is used technically of the prior Attribute existing in God's essence, so also it applies to the utterances which you read (of the Qur'ān). There is a Tradition of 'A'isha (God's pleasure upon her!) "What is between the two covers of the book is the speech of God," that is, it is a creation of His (*makhlūq lahu*) and not the composition of creatures. And our author, with others, has stated that the prior Attribute is what is designated thereby, but the true statement is that the Qur'ān and what is like it, as the Taurāt, designates the same thing that the prior Attribute does. For example, when you hear God say "and do not draw near to adultery" you understand by it the forbidding of adultery, and if the veil were removed from you, you would know the same meaning from the Attribute. Now what "uttered speech" *kalām lafzi* refers to is the same as what "mental speech" *kalām nafsi* refers to, and you can say it is like it, allowing for the difference in the designation. Yea, the utterance which you read points to eternal Speech by a necessary and direct indication, for everybody having "uttered speech" is conscious of "mental speech," and God Exalted has "uttered speech" in that He created it in the Preserved Tablet, and it points to God's having "mental speech." It follows then that "uttered speech," according to its proper indication, points to eternal Speech, as said some of the later 'Ulamā.

Then there are seven Attributes called Attributes of Ideal Modalities (*ṣifāt ma'nawīyah*)[26] which attach to the former seven, viz., His being Powerful, Willing, Knowing, Living, Hearing, Seeing, and Speaking.

And of what is impossible in regard to God, there are twenty Attributes. They are the opposites of the first twenty, and are: Non-being; and Origin; and Incidence of Non-being; and Resemblance with Originated Things, in being a body so that His exalted essence takes up a portion of space, or in being an *accidens* subsisting in a body, or in being in a direction to a body, or in that He have any direction, or in being limited in space, or in time, or that His exalted essence have attributes of temporal qualities, or in being described with smallness or largeness, or in being described in His acts with purpose; and likewise it is impossible that He be not Self-subsistent in that He be an attribute subsisting in a *locus* or have need of a specifier; and so it is impossible that He be not One, by being compounded in His essence, or by having one like Him in essence or attributes, or by there being along with him in existence a producer of effects; thus is impossible Impotence as regards doing any possible thing; and also the bringing into being any part of the world were there aversion on His part, i. e., want of His will for it, either through neglect or forgetfulness or by means of causation or of (inherent) nature; so also is impossible for Him, Ignorance of any thing known and what is like it in meaning; and Death; and Deafness; and Blindness; and Dumbness; and the opposites of the Attributes of Ideal Modalities are evident from these. But as regards the Permissible regarding God, it is the doing of every possible thing or leaving it undone.

Now the proof of God's Existence is the origin of the world. Because if there were not one causing it to be, but

[26] B. He used the connective "then" *thumma,* for the rank of the ideal Modalities is lower than the Ideal Realities as these are ontal, and the vision (*ru'yah*) of them would be possible if the veil were removed from us. On the other hand, the Ideal Modalities are only persistent (*thābitah*), and their vision is not possible, for they are not defined by existence which is susceptible of vision. (All of which confirms the rendering of these terms as above.)

it came to be of itself, then, consequently, there would be two equal things (viz., being and non-being) with one of them outweighing the other without a cause, which is absurd. And the proof of the origin (or temporalness, *ḥudūṯh*) of the world is the adherence to it of *accidentia,* such as motion and rest, etc., and that to which the temporal adheres is temporal; and the proof of the origin of *accidentia* is the witnessing of their change from non-being to being and from being to non-being. The proof of the necessity of God's Priority is that if He were not prior then He would be temporal and so need a bringer-to-pass, and then there would be no escape from the (vicious) circle or the (endless) chain. The proof of the necessity of His Duration is that if it were possible that non-being come upon Him, then Priority would be denied Him, because then His existence would be possible and not necessary, and the possible is not other than temporal. But how! For we have just proved the necessity of His Priority. The proof of the necessity of God's Difference from Originated Things is that if He were like anything thereof, He would be originated like them, which is absurd, because of what you have known of the necessity of His Priority and Duration. The proof of the necessity of His Self-subsistence is that if He had need of a *locus* He would then be an attribute, and an attribute is not defined by the Ideal Realities and Ideal Modalities, but our Lord must be defined by both, hence He is not an attribute; and if He had need of a specifier He would be temporal, but how! when proof has been established of His Priority and Duration.

The proof of the necessity of His Unity is that if He were not One, then necessarily nothing of the world could be in existence, because of His necessarily being impotent in that case.[27] The proof of the necessity of His

[27] B. If, e. g., there were two gods they might differ, in that one will the being of a thing and the other will its non-being, so both would be impotent, for the will of both could not be carried out, for that would require the agreement of two opposites; nor could the will of one be carried out, for that results in the impotence of the other, and this other is in the same case. (The argument answers Tritheism, but does not touch the Christian position of Trinitarianism.)

being attributed with Power, Will, Knowledge and Life is that if any of them were excluded there would not be any originated thing in existence. The proof of the necessity of God's Hearing and Seeing and Speech is established by the Book, the Sunna and Agreement, and also, if He were not described by them, He would have to be by their opposites, which are deficiencies, and any deficiency in regard to Him is absurd. And the proof that the doing or the leaving undone of possible things is permissible for Him is, that if any of them were rationally necessitated for Him or were rationally impossible, then the possible would have become converted into the necessary or into the impossible, and that is absurd.

COMMENTS

An estimate of this formal doctrine of God may be made from several standpoints. A science which purports to be rational and logical must pay tribute to logic. In history much very useful work has been done in laying bare the inter-relation of Christianity and Islam in the formative centuries of the latter. Much might be written along either line, but I can refer to only one point under each head. The wider question of the relation of attributes to the divine essence must be left to such as are able to deal with it. Here we have the specific question of how the Attributes of Ideal Reality are to be conceived in relation to the essence. The Attribute of Unity sets it forth in such simplicity that any kind of plurality in, or of, that essence is not permissible. These *ma'ānī* are so real that "if the veil were removed" we could "see" them, but logical insight can only distinguish the distinct, and then where is the simplicity of the Unity? The Mu'tazila, who called themselves "The People of the Unity and Justice" saw this, but they went to the extreme of evaporating the attributes by reducing them to one, and finally lost out in the argument. On the other hand, al-Ash'arī's mediating phrase that the Ideal Realities "are neither He nor are they other-than-He" means nothing, and is one of those inconsistencies in the sphere of *Kalām* which Maimonides called "empty sound of words."

The history of the formation of the doctrine was one of internal conflict, but that conflict took place in a Greek-Christian environment. This does not mean that Islam consciously borrowed. In the nature of the case, because of the relation of conqueror and subject, that was impossible, but the unconscious absorption of current thought-forms could not be avoided. The history of the Attribute of Speech is the best illustration. No conflict was more severe than that about the eternity of the Koran. The outcome was enshrined in the formulation as we have it. How that result was reached is described by C. H. Becker [28] from whom I quote. "And finally the third problem, 'is the word of God, the Qur'ān, created or not?' is the transparent reflex of the Logos

28 "Christentum und Islam."

problem, the struggle for the recognition of the eternity and uncreatedness of the Logos beside God. Here Islam found the solution how to distinguish between an eternal Qur'ān, uncreated with God, and the revealed, created Qur'ān. But the eternity of the Qur'ān was construed by a dogma altogether heterogeneous to the strict monotheism of Islam—that was never understood, just as little as that we have here the triumph of keen Greek-Christian thought. A more striking proof of Christian influence does not exist; it has been able to resolve the fundamental dogma of Islam, unknown to its followers." The extreme doctrine of Koranic inspiration has always been a source of trouble, but it was not to be expected that the solution would be by a *kalām* that is eternal, is with God and is God! Muhammad 'Abduh, who was somewhat of a "modernist," tried to hold on to the inspiration and reject the consequences, thus: "And whoever says that the Qur'ān as read is eternal is in the vilest state and in the worst error of any sect, the thing which the Qur'ān itself came to condemn and to oppose. There is not in saying that God brought the Qur'ān into being without any human agency sharing in it anything that affects the dignity of its rank." [29]

The writer has the missionary interest, and questions here have in view the practical bearings of this system. If the question is asked which of the twelve Attributes is central or regulative, the answer must be the Will. There is a glimmer of the idea of personality in the Attribute of Life, but it is not carried out. Christian controversialists have wrongly named Power as determinative. On the other hand Moslem writers are equally wrong when they point out that Allah is "the Merciful the Compassionate" and refer to the "Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God" as expressing their conception of God. Certainly some of those names are beautiful, as al-Ghazzālī has expounded them in his Maqṣad. However, when Sunnī Islam refused to admit Justice among the Attributes, as against the Mu'tazila, it once for all rejected all moral attributes as a part of its thought of God. The decisive point is: "If the veil were removed" can the Moslem say that he will find "mercy" and "goodness" among the Ideal Realities? He cannot. The divine Will is absolute, and unconditioned by anything within or without the divine essence. This leaves man in his deepest needs with nothing but an Inscrutable Will, and not with a Personal God of Truth and Love and Holiness.

Another question is: Is God, as set forth by these Attributes, knowable? The answer to this is in the clause of the Attribute of Unity, which states that "He has no second in His Attributes." The Attribute of Difference, as al-Sanūsī expounds it, really guards God's non-corporeity, but its general sense is combined with the phrase from the Unity to form the doctrine of transcendence (*tanzīh*). This means that no descriptive of whatever kind can possibly have the same meaning when applied to God as when used ordinarily. In other words: nothing intelligible can be said of God, He is the Unknowable. A quotation from al-Ghazzālī leaves no doubt here. In his Maqṣad, in which his religious motive is to expound "The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God" in line with the Tradition "Become characterized with the characters of God," where, if anywhere, he may be expected to bring

[29] "Risālat al-Tawhīd."

these names within the religious grasp of his readers, he says under "The Holy" (*al-qudus*); "He transcends every quality that sense perceives, or imagination pictures, or fancy adopts, or by which conscience is stirred, or thought arrives at. And I do not say He transcends faults and defects, for the mention of such things comes near to being unseemly, for it is bad manners for anyone to say that the king of a country is a baker or a cupper, for by the very denial the possibility of them is suggested, and that suggestion is defect. But I say the Holy is transcendent above descriptions of perfections which most people think. For first they observe themselves and get to know the perfect . . . and the defects, and then describe Him by their perfections, and deny concerning Him their faults. But He is free from their perfections as of their defects, yea, of every attribute of the creature." That here a Neo-Platonic, more particularly Plotinian influence was at work cannot be doubted.

My last question relates to God's immanence: Is God, in this doctrinal system, near? The answer again is in the Attribute of Unity, which states that "He has no second in any act." The Creed of al-Faḍālī states: "And the meaning of God's oneness in acts is that no created thing possesses an act, for God is the creator of the acts of creatures, prophets, angels and the rest." Also, as neither man nor any creature has an act, so also there is no such thing as causality, except the causality of God acting immediately. "And from this proof it may be known that there is no impression by fire or knife or eating, upon anything consisting of burning or cutting or satiety, but God makes the being-burnt in a thing which fire touches, when it touches, etc. . . . And he who holds that fire burns by its nature, etc. . . . is an unbeliever by Agreement. And he who holds that it burns by a power created in it by God, is ignorant and corrupt, because he knows not the true nature of the Unity." The doctrine of *kasb* brought in here to leave a semblance of responsibility for man's deeds is another of those inconsistencies in the sphere of *Kalām,* and one for which the Shī'a 'ulamā never find language strong enough to express their contempt. And, indeed, why should this most important act of man, upon which depends his eternal destiny, be left outside the all-inclusive act of God? Since God is the sole Actor in the universe, it was no great step for the Ṣūfī to say that He is the One Act. Like the transcendence which they teach, the immanence also passes the bounds of religious usefulness. The "Unity" has been the boast of Islamic writers, but we see that it leaves God unknown on the one hand, while on the other man is left a marionette, and at the same time that unity is corrupted by the existence of the Attributes of Ideal Realities. It is not possible to construct out of the abstract idea of oneness a religiously worthy idea of God.

Kuwait, Arabia. FREDERICK J. BARNY.

MARY JANE LOVELL

MOTHER OF THE BLIND IN BIBLE LANDS

On the 16th of June, 1932, Miss Lovell, known throughout Palestine as "The mother of the blind," was laid to rest on the hill of Zion, after thirty-seven years of loving and untiring ministry to blind women and girls.

"Mother of the blind"—a most befitting name—for that, indeed, she has been, both spiritually and philanthropically, to very many. With utter self-forgetfulness, she utilized heart and brain and hands and feet in the service of the Master, ministering to those who were in spiritual and physical darkness. Her eyes seemed to be everywhere, ever on the alert to see on behalf of those who could not see. In very truth she was "eyes to the blind." Up to the last, her own sight was wonderful. "You wonder at my good sight," she said to a friend one day; "it must be, I think, because I used it so much for the blind."

Before coming out to the Near East in 1893, Miss Lovell had had twelve years of work and valuable experience in caring for the blind. For ten years she was a teacher in a school for the blind in Kilburn, in London, and then started a holiday home for the blind at St. Leonard's-on-Sea. This was said to be the first of its kind ever opened in England. To that home she received men, women and children from all parts of England; and it was in this way that the more distant call reached her.

There came to the home one day a blind converted Druze, with his Canadian wife, who told her that nothing was being done for the blind in Syria and Palestine. Miss Lovell felt that the need was the call, and that God

must want her to go out, to show once more what He can do through a willing instrument. She had no money of her own, and no society or Board at her back, so that her resolve to go out into the unknown, alone, seemed ridiculous. But her indomitable will, so characteristic of her to the last, coupled with unwavering faith and utter dependence upon Almighty God, achieved such wonders as caused the saints to rejoice and the world to marvel.

Mr. Zeitoun, the converted Druze, lived with his wife at Aitat, a little village in the Lebanons, where he conducted a small school for Druze children. He therefore suggested that Miss Lovell should come to them, to which she agreed, believing that she would be "guided" as to the next step. For this heavenly guidance was one of her leading spiritual experiences. When she landed at Beirut, in Syria, she possessed only two gold sovereigns; but so marvellously and abundantly were her needs met by the Lord during her two years' stay in Syria, that she was never obliged to spend them.

At once it became imperative to acquire some knowledge of the Arabic language, at which Miss Lovell proved very quick. Her introduction to it is not only amusing—and she possessed a fund of innocent and quiet humor—but also revealing, as it shows her ingenuity and strength of purpose and certainty of calling. The day after her arrival at Aitat, news was brought to Mr. Zeitoun that the village schoolmaster was ill, and that there was nobody else to take his place. To her amazement, Mr. Zeitoun suggested that she should go and take charge of the school for that day. Her protests were of no avail, and in the end she went and conducted a class that was reading Arabic, by making two or three of the larger boys read a passage first, until she became somewhat familiarized with the sounds of the words, when she was able to help the younger boys.

Her first and foremost consideration in those days, however, was Arabic Braille, as no workable code had yet appeared. In course of time she worked out a sys-

tem, which was approved by the National Institute for the Blind (then known as "The British and Foreign Blind Association") and also by Mr. Gardner, head of The Blind Institute in Cairo. Forthwith she began writing out tentative portions of Scripture. The first booklet to be published consisted of the first three chapters of Genesis, Isaiah 53, Psalm 51 and "The Sermon on the Mount." This accomplished, God opened the way for her to go to Jerusalem, where she was introduced first to Miss M. G. Maxwell Ford, who manifested a real interest, and introduced her in turn to some of the ladies of The Christian and Missionary Alliance, two of whom, Miss Dunn and Miss Brown, are still living in Jerusalem. Some friends in the Church Missionary Society, also, including the late Mr. and Mrs. Hall, were raised up to help her. All these friends held up her hands by prayer in these early days, and helped her all they could, financially and materially. Regarding these early days of her work, Miss Lovell used to say that she looked back upon them with joy, because the hardships and the severe testings of faith served to prove the delight God has in answering prayer, so putting new songs of deliverance daily into the mouths of His children.

Her idea, at this initial stage of the work, was simply to go about from place to place, teaching the blind to read. In this way, she used to go twice a week to Pastor Schneller's Orphanage, where a few blind boys were to be found. Then the friends mentioned above helped her to secure Holman Hunt's studio, where the famous artist had painted his memorable picture, "The Light of the World." That room was her first schoolroom; and there three girls used to come, as often as possible, for tuition, one of whom is still living. Good though this arrangement was for the time, she felt that the work would be far more effective and valuable if there could be a residential home to which girls could come from other parts of the country. She alone could have told the story of how God supplied that need which she felt; of how He

provided her, little by little, with money for rent, with household necessities and with numberless other things that such a home needed.

As the news went abroad that a "mother for the blind" had arisen in Jerusalem, girls began to come from all parts of Palestine and Syria, while funds began to come from kind friends. To the girls she was both mother and teacher and servant. Nothing was too difficult for her to attempt, or beneath her dignity to do. The words of the Master, "I am among you as he that serveth" seemed to be repeated in the life of His faithful child. Night and day she tended the sick ones of her family, which was continually increasing, even when her own frail body was racked with fever.

Her chief principle, to which she clung throughout the years, was never to get into debt, and never to make a need known by advertising—knowing from experience that "El Shaddai," the God who is enough, was caring, and that it was He who was sending supporters and friends. Often would she speak of the times of great extremity, when she did not know how she was going to pay the month's bread bill, or the rent for the year—for in those days the rent for the greater part of the year was paid in one sum. And she testified to the very last how faithfully God met every need, and honored her faith and trust in Him. In this connection, the writer (one of her own blind girls) remembers an incident that occurred when she was a child of six, in the home. It was New Year's day, and Miss Lovell, according to her custom, got the girls ready to go to church. Just before they set out, she reminded them of the Gospel narrative of the "Widow's Mite," and proceeded, as usual, to give each child a copper to put in the collection-plate. And then she told them that there was no more money in the house, and that they were to pray God to provide them with food, as there was no money with which to buy any. That afternoon a friend came in and gave her two gold sovereigns—quite ignorant of the fact that there was not a

penny in the house—and remarked, "The Lord has told me to give you this."

Miss Lovell's one aim and object was that her girls might be "born again," and to this end she would plead and agonize in prayer for them. Family worship was as early as six o'clock in the morning. She did not wish to have it at any later hour, for fear of interruptions. "It makes all the difference in the world," she would say, "if it is not neglected." She urged her girls to commit many portions of Scripture to memory, arguing that they could not carry their Bibles wherever they went, but that they should have this store in their minds to fall back upon.

Despite her manifold duties, she had a great desire to give the whole Bible to the Arabic-speaking Blind World; and this great task she lived to see accomplished. It was about the year 1910 that the British and Foreign Bible Society promised to print the Bible in Arabic Braille, if they could be given the printers' copy, and she immediately started on the Book of Psalms. The Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Book of Isaiah had already been printed by Mr. Gardner, of the Zeitoun Institute in Cairo.

In 1913 she got one of her girls to help her, and just managed to complete the Epistles and Revelation before the Great War broke out, and the work had to be suspended for awhile, as no paper could be sent out from London. For a great part of the time, Miss Lovell was the only British subject in Jerusalem. No one but God knows the extent of her mental sufferings during those dark years. No reliable newspapers were available, and only reports of how the Turks were vanquishing the foe drifted about, adding to the strain and heartache. While America kept out of the War, the Turks could not claim the house, as it was American property; but every few months the Turks would threaten to send her away, and then the question would arise as to what would become of the girls, most of whom were orphans and homeless. It was then that God raised up the American Consul as

a real friend, who pleaded her cause more than once, and the nest was not demolished. Financially the home did not suffer as much as one would have expected, because friends in America did not leave a stone unturned in seeking to send relief. As times grew darker, reports of the sad condition of British prisoners added to her mental suffering, and she ransacked her small personal belongings to send them comforts by trusty messengers, besides Bibles and hymn-books. Just before the British entered Jerusalem, a Turkish official wished to take possession of the house, and this time there was no friendly American Consul to plead for the "mother" and her "children." Prayer was their only resort, and pray they did. One night, as she was saying "Good night" to one of the children who was sick, the child said, "We shall not leave the house, for Sophie and I have prayed about it, and we believe." The following week, the same Turkish official left Jerusalem to make way for the British.

Then there came a special ministry to the soldiers, for which many a heart blesses her. Some of them were billeted opposite the home. Miss Lovell would therefore send the girls into the garden to sing Gospel hymns, knowing what a blessing hymns can be. The soldiers came, and every night for about two years after that, the hall was filled with them, singing Gospel hymns, of which they never seemed to tire. Prayer meetings, too, were organized on special evenings in the week. Only eternity can reveal the results of these labors, for several found their Saviour through her instrumentality.

As things in Palestine became more settled, the work on the Bible was resumed with renewed energy. With her own hand she wrote out a rough copy, in Arabic Braille, of nearly all the books of the Old Testament, her helper copying them on good paper. The work on the Old Testament occupied them for four years. When the Bible was eventually printed, it was discovered that the paper was too soft, and many of the dots were imperceptible to unaccustomed fingers. So the whole Bible

was revised and completed at the end of seven more years. The completion of it gave her great joy, though she refrained from speaking much about it, or of her great share in it, declaring that she had done nothing as compared with other children of God.

In the Autumn of 1919 there was an epidemic of influenza. The victims were many, doctors and nurses were overworked, so that, when eight of her girls were down with it at the same time, she was unable to procure the help of a nurse, and had to nurse them herself, night and day. And when they recovered, she herself had a severe breakdown and was very ill for several months. When she, too, recovered, she was not as strong as she had been, and it was a great effort to her to do as she had formerly done. But yet she did not throw off any of her duties, though one could see that she was bent beneath the load. She would often repeat the words,

> "Take up thy cross," the Saviour said,
> "Nor think till death to lay it down."

Her brave struggle with physical sufferings did not begin then, however, for as far back as 1912 it was discovered that she was suffering from an internal malady. She was one of those brave souls who suffer in silence, and when seeing visitors, or when with her girls, was bright and happy and apparently well. As time went by and her trouble increased, she found that the way to keep alive was simply to live on a diet of milk. It was a wonder to everybody how she existed at all, and how she retained her clear thinking powers and other faculties when she was almost starving.

During her thirty-seven years' residence in Jerusalem, she had only one holiday, when she went to stay with Miss Mary Reed, a missionary to the lepers in India. During the six months she was there, she adapted the Braille for two Indian languages.

Miss Lovell admitted to her home any who wished to come, no matter what their age or creed. Over sixty

persons passed through her hands, some for short and some for longer periods. Her "family" numbered anywhere from ten to nineteen at different periods. The girls came, for the most part, from poor homes. At one time, five little Armenian girls were sent to her, whose relatives suffered at the hands of the Turks. She received nine non-Christian girls into the home, most of whom found Christ as their personal Saviour, and some of them are now preaching the Gospel.

Throughout these many years, she had had a certain amount of correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose work was dear to her heart; so, according to the wish of the gentleman who had bought and presented her with a house for the use of the blind in 1913, she passed it over to the Society in her lifetime, to avoid the complications arising under Turkish law in regard to the property of deceased foreigners. In appreciation of all that she had done for the "wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures," the Bible Society made her an Honorary Life Governor, and gave her the use of a suite of rooms in the Bible House in Jerusalem, where they could facilitate her work as far as possible, and minister to her in her declining years. By that time, she had the joy of knowing that many of her girls were usefully engaged in preaching the Gospel in various parts of Palestine and Syria, and that God was blessing their work.

In June of 1931 she had an impelling desire to reopen the home for the blind, to which they could come for a holiday. Accordingly a nice little house was taken in one of the suburbs, to which she resorted, and where she had the pleasure of receiving several of her old girls. But in the April of 1932, increasing weakness made it imperative for her to return to the Bible House, where her friends could look after her. Still, the home was not given up, for she has left one of her girls in charge of it, with the express wish that the blind should avail themselves of it.

On May 31st she was suddenly taken very ill. All that love and care could do was done, but the watchers felt that the end was near. "I do not wish to die," she would say, "for the girls' sake." When the doctor came she would say to him, "Go to your poor, sick people who need you; 'The Lord is my Shepherd.'" Every morning, as her custom was, she would read all the texts off the calendars. "Bring the texts," she said to the night nurse, "one by one. I live on the word of God." She rallied, and appeared to be better, but on June 14 was seized with another violent attack of pain and sickness, and passed quietly away at noon of the following day, in the arms of one of her devoted friends. The following morning, sixteen of her heartbroken girls, supported by many sympathizers and friends, stood round the open grave, listening to the words, "In sure and certain hope of the resurrection of the dead."

Jerusalem. ADELE DAFESH.

THE LAW OF FREEDOM

(A Dialogue for Moslems)

It is said that one day an elderly Hindu man, who was quite insane, wandered into a railway station and out on the platform. He evidently hoped to get a few coppers from the people waiting for the train. Immediately a group of small boys gathered around him, teasing and tormenting him. Soon the men present were also enjoying the insane gestures of the poor Hindu.

Suddenly there appeared a young man, a Pathan, who broke through the crowd, took the insane man by the hand, and led him gently out of the station. Away from the crowd, he put a coin in the Hindu's hand and said, "God be with you." And the poor, insane beggar left happily.

Shortly afterwards the Pathan returned and took a seat on one of the benches on the platform. A few minutes later another Pathan, an elderly gentleman, seated himself alongside of the younger man, and said:

"I saw you take that insane Hindu by the hand and lead him out. I was surprised, and I followed you. I saw you put a coin in his hand, and I heard you say, 'God be with you.' Now I would like to ask you a question. Do you think you will get a reward for what you did?"

At that moment the warning bell was sounded that the train was approaching, so the young man answered with a question:

"Are you also travelling by this incoming train? If so, I would be pleased to have your company. You know the Arabic proverb, 'The neighbor before the house, and the companion before the journey.' I hadn't thought of who my companion on this trip would be, but it has pleased God to send you to me."

The elderly man declared that he also was going by that train, and so both of them got in and found a comfortable seat. In the meantime the younger man had noticed that his older companion had his beard and moustache cut according to tradition, and that he carried a rosary in his hand, and he concluded therefore that he was a Moslem.

When the train left the station the younger man said, "You asked me if I expected to get a reward for getting that insane Hindu out of the station, away from the pranks of those boys. Why did you ask that?"

Elderly Man: Because I wonder whether you know the law (*shariat*) —To assist in distress is truly a duty for every Mussalman, but there is a difference between Ahl-i-Islam and other people: and it is not the duty of a man belonging to Ahl-i-Islam to assist a person who is a Kafir. Otherwise where would the distinction be?

Young Man: No, I really don't expect to get a reward for helping that man. In fact I didn't even think of a reward.

E. M. Then why did you do it? You must have had some reason.

Y. M. Yes, I had a good reason. But I am afraid you won't understand it, as it is a story instead of a law.

E. M. Speak out. What do you mean?

Y. M. A man who is honored in Islam as a great prophet said that every man should love his neighbor as he loves himself. A very wise man then asked how the word "neighbor" should be defined. This prophet was, of course, Jesus (on whom be peace), and he illustrated his meaning by telling a story. He said a certain man travelled from Jerusalem to another city, and on the way thieves met him, stripped him, wounded him and left him half dead. Shortly thereafter a Jewish Mullah came by, and when he saw the man he passed by on the other side. And then a religious official came along, and also he went by. Finally a man came by, of a tribe called Samaritans. These people had no dealings with the Jews and hated them. But this man helped the wounded Jew, put bandages on his wounds, lifted him up onto his own donkey, and took him to a *serai,* and there he paid the keeper of the *serai* to look after this Jew.

Now Jesus said we should do likewise. That is why I helped that insane Hindu.

E. M. You are then a Christian and not a Mussalman?

Y. M. Yes, I have been a Christian for about five years.

E. M. This gives me an opportunity to find out about something I have so often puzzled over in your religion. Every time a person leaves Islam and becomes a Christian, the people always say: "He was tired of the strict law of Islam. In Christianity there is no law. Everyone is free to do as he pleases. He can even drink wine or eat pork, if he likes." What do you answer to that?

Y. M. You don't mind my first asking you if you have ever read our New Testament (*Injil*)?

E. M. I wouldn't say I have studied it deeply, but I have read much of it, especially that part which tells of the life of Jesus (on whom be peace).

Y. M. Then I would like to ask you what you think about it? Do you think the people are right in saying that there is no law in Christianity, and that there is freedom to do as one pleases?

E. M. You won't become angry if I tell you the truth, will you? If not, then I must say that I found the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the *Injil* very remarkable. Instead of giving any definite laws, he says, e. g., "If your hand causes you to sin, cut it off, and if your eye causes you to sin, pluck it out." And yet I don't think he really meant that anyone should cut off his own hand or pluck out his own eye.

In another place, where his opponents try to corner him, he reduces the whole law to this—Love God and your neighbor.

In one place where one of his own disciples tries to get him to give them a law about how they should treat each other, the disciple even suggests the number of times it ought to be necessary to forgive, but Jesus says neither yes nor no; he only says, not seven times but seventy times seven: which of course means nothing more than just go on forgiving forever.

And in another place, where a woman tries to get Jesus to say something definite about where and how to worship God, he simply says: God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

And there are many other places of this kind in your *Injil,* which make me believe that Jesus brought no law. And if Jesus brought no law, then of course when people become Christians they go into freedom—a freedom that must be bad for everyone.

Y. M. I see that you have read a great deal of our holy book, and that pleases me, because then you can help me in trying to explain for you that point about law (*shariat*). I would like to know what you expect in a religion?

E. M. I should say that at least one thing any perfect religion ought to have is a perfect and complete ethical code. A man should know what God wants him to do in even the smallest details of life. In Islam we have such a law. You know how every act of a man is placed in our law under one of the eight heads: *farz, wajib, sunnat, mustahabb, ja'iz, makruh, mufsil,* and *haram.* As soon as a man intends to do something, he knows whether it is duty, obligation, tradition, supererogatory, permissible, blameworthy, condonable, or sin.

In this way every man knows God's will and can do it.

Y. M. Do you recall the recent revolution in Afghanistan, when Amanullah finally gave up the throne? There were many leading Mullahs for him and many against him. Now if the *shariat* were as you say, that would be impossible; all would have known the will of God.

E. M. That is politics. And there are many things mixed up in it.

Y. M. But Islam is a law for the state as well as for the individual, isn't it?

E. M. Yes, that is true. The law should have been able to show definitely who was right. And most of the people were against Amanullah, so I suppose he was in the wrong. Anyhow two things he did that all know are wrong: he broke the women's *purdah* and he sent girls to school.

Y. M. As I am not a Mussalman but a Christian I have no personal interest in this matter, and you will not be angry if I contradict you. Regarding *purdah,* take all the hill tribes, all the poorer farmers and all the caravaneers—none of these keep their women in *purdah.* Think of the *Pawindahs,* the Afghan traders who come down with their families—no *purdah* there. But no one ever thinks of saying a word to these people. It is only the wealthy and middle-class town people who keep their women in complete *purdah.* Now if Amanullah wanted to give the wealthy women the same freedom that all the poorer women enjoy, what was wrong in that?

And about schools for girls—you know as well as I do that good, honest Mussalmans differ on the subject.

E. M. What you say is correct, and I have been pained by these very thoughts for a long time. However, I always console myself with this, that in our religious affairs there is no difference. *There* no difficulty arises.

Y. M. I don't understand how you can say that, because even the five

pillars of Islam are not equally accepted by all Moslems. Many of the Shiah sect, for example, do not go on Hajj to Mecca, but to Kerbala. In the matter of prayers many of the sects differ as to genuflexions, and I doubt whether any two sects in Islam agree about the Traditions.

You know also the difference between the Shiahs and the Sunnis in matters like marriage and divorce.

E. M. You are a young man, and you say you have been a Christian for five years. Where, then, did you learn all this about Islam?

Y. M. I have many Moslem friends, and some of my relations are Moslems, and we often discuss these subjects. And of course I read the books.

E. M. You see I am an old man. My beard is grey. And I have studied and read about Islam all my life.

Then followed a period of silence, as though this elderly gentleman wished to say something and yet could not. Finally he burst out:

I hate these modern defenders of Islam. Most of their arguments are made without a thought about what the truth actually is. I have seen the weakness of our position for years. We claim that a true religion should give a perfect ethical code. All of Islam's thinkers have held that. And they have worked on it from the beginning, some in one way and some in another. But every time I read these modern ways of trying to fix things up, I always feel that they are trying to buttress the faith of our glorious prophet with lies. I want truth.

Again there followed a time of silence. The young man felt that he could say nothing in answer to this, but in his heart he heard the words of Jesus: "Everyone who is of the truth heareth my voice," and those other remarkable words: "He who is of God heareth the words of God." That gave him courage to believe that this elderly man by his side would also come to a knowledge of the truth.

E. M. We have moved away from the subject. It was not Islam we were to discuss, but Christianity. You see why I want to know about that strange freedom from law you have in Christianity. If Islam has not succeeded in giving mankind the perfect law, then Christianity seems to be even more incomplete. It has no law at all.

Y. M. Again and again that word "freedom" has been used as a taunt. I don't mind, though, because I know that it comes from a complete lack of understanding, and not because my Moslem friends mean to be unfair or unjust. It is not so difficult for me to explain it to you, because you have read about Jesus in the *Injil* and you know about him.

Let me begin by saying that in the Old Testament there is a verse which says that God has promised to put His law in our hearts, and write it on our minds. It is mentioned again in the *Injil*. What would you suppose that means?

E. M. If God has said that, I would suppose it meant that instead of his giving man an outward law, He would give every man a law in his heart.

Y. M. I also think that that must be the meaning of those words: but how would you expect such a law to work?

E. M. If you mean that Christianity has such a law, you will have to answer your own question. The whole idea is so foreign to Islam that I have never thought of it.

Y. M. But if it could be done, then would you not think that the great problem of a perfect ethical code that was good for all times and for all men in every path of life was solved? For then every man's own heart would tell him what was right and what was wrong.

E. M. I see a great advantage in your thought. There would be no laws built on traditions that later were cut away as false. There would be no disagreement as to how and where and what to pray.

Y. M. Of course it would not mean that there would be no difference, because, for example, all men do not think the same about politics, but there could be no moral corruption. Likewise in the worship of God all the outward forms would not be of one type, because people are so different: one man finds he can best worship God in one way, and another in another way.

E. M. That is just exactly what I wanted to say. Only I would have said it in this way: A law in every man's heart would lead to confusion and strife. Think of how divided and backward our independent tribes are because every man is a law unto himself. It is only when you have a regular government—even if it is full of defects, that a people can prosper. In the religious kingdom it would be the same.

Y. M. I agree with you, except that you have forgotten that in the religious kingdom it is *God*—one God—who writes the law in every man's heart. Now it would be difficult to suppose that God would write one law in my heart and another in yours, so that we would hate each other and try to hurt or harm each other. Therefore the law the One God writes in all hearts would not differ in the different hearts, except in so much as it has to do with only the person concerned. Wouldn't that be so?

E. M. Yes, I will admit that. But what if our hearts deceive us? Your heart tells you to be a Christian and not to resist evil, and to help a Hindu: my heart tells me to be a Mussalman, to defend myself, and to keep from touching a Hindu: and the Hindu's heart tells him to worship a stick of wood or a cow. How can we believe in our hearts? Does God not reveal His will in an objective form, so all men may have something outside of themselves to hold to?

Y. M. Yes, there certainly is a revelation that is outside of every man's heart, and independent of it.

E. M. We have a long journey before us, I am going all the way to Lahore. So we have much time. Begin from the beginning then, and explain how you Christians can say that God has revealed His will outside of man's heart, and yet has written His law in your hearts. I don't understand that.

Y. M. You say begin from the beginning. Now that is very difficult, because the beginning is God, and our belief about God is so dif-

ferent from yours that many of your Mullahs say we commit the sin of *shirk* (partnership).

E. M. As a matter of fact the Koran calls you Ahl-i-Kitab, and although I admit that some of the things I have heard about Christians would make me think they were associating partners with God, yet since the Koran speaks of you as Ahl-i-Kitab I feel I must not think of you as committing the unpardonable sin of *shirk,* and I will keep that in mind while you are talking.

Y. M. Thank you. That will make it much easier for me. Because we have a belief about God which, if it were not revealed at first and then verified by experience, no one who believes that God is ONE would dare hold it.

You know that in the *Injil* Jesus said to His disciples that they should go out into the whole world and acquaint all people with His message, and that those who believed should be baptized into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Now we Christians do not think of these words as a *kalima,* as if a person became a Christian simply by saying, I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit. Those words have a very real meaning to us in this way, that we believe that God cares for us as a loving father and we trust in His fatherly care; we believe that Jesus Christ, in His life and words, reflects the character of God, as a son reflects the character of his father, so that when we fashion our lives after the manner of Jesus Christ we know that we are fashioning them after the manner of God; and we believe that the Spirit who dwells within our hearts, to lead us and help us, is the very Spirit of God, and therefore His guidance is to be trusted. Thus, when we believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit, it is not merely the use of a form of words, but it is a new outlook which changes the whole course of our lives.

E. M. I think I understand you. In Islam a man becomes a Moslem by saying the *Kalima.* In contradistinction to this you hold that it is the change of life that makes the difference, and not the saying of a *Kalima.* I remember reading in the *Injil* that Jesus also told a Jew he had to be born again.

Y. M. Yes, and when this change of life comes, a person finds it very easy to believe about God as we do.

E. M. What you evidently mean is that your daily life as a Christian makes it necessary for you to believe what the *Injil* says about the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit?

Y. M. Exactly. And therefore you can easily see why people who do not live the Christian life, but who believe that God is ONE cannot understand us, and often accuse us of blasphemy and of the sin called *shirk.*

E. M. But what you say is quite absurd. First, a man cannot be a Christian if he does not believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and then you say that only those who already are Christians can believe this. Thus no outsider can become a Christian?

Y. M. No. Not exactly. You see I myself have become a Christian. I would put it thus: No outsider can become a Christian *unless God Himself draws him toward Jesus Christ.* In many ways—by the Holy Books, by some other good book, by a conversation, by

the life of another person, by a dream, or a vision—in many, many ways God reaches the hearts of men and causes them to seek and search. And while they are seeking and searching, God is drawing them toward Himself through Jesus Christ, until one day they are born again, and their spiritual eyes are opened. Then they see that God is truly their Father, that Jesus Christ is the image of the invisible God, and that the Holy Spirit within their hearts —unknown to them—has been guiding them in this way. They believe and are baptized, and the whole course of their life is changed. My friend, I am telling you not only what is written in the books, but also what I have experienced in my own life.

E. M. You said first that if we were to understand why there is no outward law in Christianity we must begin with the Christian idea of the unity of God. You spoke of your experience that God is Father, that Jesus Christ is the image of God, and that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God. But I cannot see how this experience, as you call it, has anything to do with the question of the laws of Christianity?

Y. M. It has a great deal to do with it, but to understand it we cannot yet leave off thinking about God. You Mussalmans have the common Arabic phrase, "Whatever a man can think, God is *not* that." Man has never succeeded in thinking the correct thoughts about God. Even the great Jewish prophets could not find out the truth about God. Although they, like you Moslems, came to believe that only One God existed, yet many of their thoughts about that one God were incomplete and unsatisfactory.

Now the first effect Jesus Christ has on any honest seeker after truth is that He changes that person's idea of God. That person sees through Jesus that God is different from what he had thought before. That change began with His very first disciples. They themselves confessed their belief that Jesus came forth from God, before Jesus Himself began to teach them directly about it. The point is that they believed that Jesus in His life and words was revealing God to them, because they realized that Jesus was better than the thoughts they had about God.

E. M. That sounds very strange. How can that be?

Y. M. Just take this one example. If a person who believed the Almighty, exalted and eternal God to be a great Ruler who, like many a great king, cares nothing for His people—should meet Jesus, who both in His life and teaching showed that this Almighty, exalted and eternal God was like a loving father of a great family, wouldn't that change his idea of God? Wouldn't he feel that this idea of God was better than the other?

E. M. Yes, I should say so. Go on.

Y. M. Now if a man concludes that Jesus Christ—in His person—is revealing God, the most natural thing in the world would be to believe that Jesus is the most perfect of men, because He would be more like God Himself than any other man. From what we read of Jesus in the *Injil* we are also inclined to believe the same. Are you following me?

E. M. Eagerly. And yet I can't see what this has to do with there being no law in Christianity. But I suppose you will come to that?

Y. M. Yes, and now. The remarkable thing about this perfect man, who revealed God to us in His person, is that although He said He did not come to destroy the law, nevertheless He brought about a change—the great change that is responsible for this freedom from law in Christianity, that you Moslems fail to understand.

E. M. Yes, I have read that Jesus said He did not wish to destroy the law, but to complete it, and it is a puzzle for me. It seems to me He destroyed the law.

Y. M. How would you think Jesus could have completed or perfected the law?

E. M. I have never thought of that. But I suppose that He in some wonderful way would have given a law that would have included all the changes in the world until the end of time. For example, in the time of our holy prophet there was no tobacco, so the Moslem law does not tell us about that, and consequently some sects like the Ahl-i-Hadis condemn it, and others don't. Likewise when our law was made, no Moslems lived under non-Moslem rulers, so we don't know how to act under these circumstances, and the Mullahs of India disagree. Also in the days of our glorious prophet slavery was usual, and the Koran allows it, yet in our day—even in Afghanistan—slavery is forbidden.

Now if Jesus were to perfect the Jewish law, He would have made it so that all the changes of time would have been included in it also. But instead He destroyed the law.

Y. M. I think that if you understand Jesus correctly you will find that He did something like what you suggest when you speak of completing and perfecting the law. Take for example the very things you mentioned in the beginning. Jesus said: "If your hand causes you to stumble cut it off; if your eye causes you to sin pluck it out." Again—The whole law is this, Love God and your neighbor. Or, don't count how many times you forgive your brother, but do it continually. What Christ did was to remove the rigid boundaries of the law and instead give mankind an impulse in the right direction. And when He talked to the woman by the well He did the same: Not this or that form or place of worship, but in spirit and in truth. Then the outward form might change so that the worship would always be true and spiritual. Do you see what I mean?

E. M. I think so, only let me illustrate it, so I can be sure. A father has a son. While the boy is small the father has made a law that the son should study every day for two or three hours. But when the boy is older the father changes this and says: "No longer shall you have two or three or any given number of hours of study. Now let your whole life be directed toward the goal of perfect scholarship."—And he then gives the boy a few valuable hints as to how it should be done, and a solemn warning that it is better to be undeveloped in body and a scholar, than whole in body and undeveloped in mind.

Y. M. Exactly. Only let me add two things. Let the father in your picture be God, and He says to the boy: "Your big brother has gone the way before you, step by step, and he is the perfect and complete scholar. Keep him always as your ideal. And I will

give you a teacher who will live with you day and night. He will help you in all your problems, and in every way, and he will keep your big brother before your mind's eye, and help you to follow in his steps."

E. M. I don't understand what you mean by the elder brother and the teacher in the illustration.

Y. M. The elder brother is the perfect man, Jesus Christ, and the teacher is the Holy Spirit.

The old grey-bearded man was silent for a long time. And the young man prayed in his heart that God would use his words to draw his companion to Christ. After a while the old man said:

Now I think I see it all. Instead of a long and wearisome list of laws that, long as they are, are incomplete, you believe in Jesus as the perfect man, revealing God's will, and He is therefore your model, and to be like Him your goal. And in order to accomplish this you have God with you, in your hearts, and that is God the Holy Spirit. Am I right?

Y. M. You are. And the Holy Spirit not only helps us accomplish this, but is forever presenting Christ to us, so that whatever the individual's stage of development happens to be, the Holy Spirit shows him Christ in such a way that he will be willing and able to take the next step. That works in every land, in every century, and in every way. Doesn't that seem to be the only possible ethical code that can be complete and final?

E. M. Yes, so it seems. The point in your way of thinking that bothers me is what you call the Holy Spirit. In Islam it is clearly stated that the Holy Spirit is the angel Gabriel, and when I heard that you Christians believed the Holy Spirit to be divine I thought it was blasphemy. But as I now understand you, the matter is even more difficult.

Y. M. But why so?

E. M. Because in orthodox Islam we have understood that God is so great that there is a gulf fixed between Him and mankind. No Moslem dares to talk of having the experience of God with him in his life in the way you speak of the teacher with the boy. The Moslem *sufi* and the Hindu mystic often speak of God's nearness, and even that they are part of God, but as God is impersonal for them, I often think of it as we would speak of the air being near us and in us, and that is certainly not what you mean. Even our Holy Prophet, when the Koran, the word of God, was given to him, got it through the agency of the angel Gabriel.

Y. M. I suppose the angel Gabriel got to be called the Holy Spirit in Islam because the Arabians heard the Christians talking about the Holy Spirit just in this way—that it was God in definite contact with people; and as they could not understand it, they thought it must be an angel.

E. M. It is very difficult. God—well we all know that He is; and Jesus lived on earth—we know that. But how can you prove anything about God as the Holy Spirit? No man can see a spirit. Have you ever thought of that?

Y. M. Yes, I know it is a very difficult idea for a non-Christian. In no other monotheistic religion is there anything that compares with

this teaching. Although some of the great Jewish prophets foretold that God the Holy Spirit would dwell in all men, yet it could not become the common experience of mankind until after the work of Christ on earth was finished.

But first let me say that in what I say of the Holy Spirit I am not trying to *prove* anything. Who can prove anything about God? Your prophet pointed to the mountains, to the sea, to the inhabitants of the earth, and asked the people if they were blind, but he forbade discussion about God's nature as blasphemy. So when I speak of the Holy Spirit to you I will just tell you what we Christians believe, and why; and then I will pray that God will use my words to give you an understanding of these things.

E. M. You are right. I have talked with many people, but I have always refused to try to prove God's existence. If man makes himself blind, no proof or argument will convince him.

Y. M. Now when Christ came and began to explain to His disciples that God would come into the world to live in humanity in an omnipotent and spiritual way, He made several things very clear. The first of these was that the Holy Spirit would invariably take of the things of Christ and teach the believers. And that is a very important point, for two reasons: (1) because of this there is very little known of the Holy Spirit. Jesus Himself said, "He will not speak of himself, but he will speak of me." (2) And the next, which is really more important, is that except a person believes in Christ—or at least has come into contact with Christ through some means—the Holy Spirit cannot do the promised work in that person.

E. M. If that is the case, how do you account for the verse in your *Injil* that says He will convict the world of sin?

Y. M. In exactly the same way. Where is the person who really has a deep consciousness of sin that separates him from God, except the person who has learned about Jesus Christ?

E. M. Are you speaking from experience now?

Y. M. Yes. Before I was a Christian—or before I heard of the truth about Christ—I was aware of the fact that I was a sinner. But it meant nothing to me, because I was sure God would readily forgive my sin. It was only when I read of Jesus Christ, and how sin in the world took form against Him, that the Holy Spirit made me understand what sin is.

E. M. I see. The second point?

Y. M. Jesus said the Holy Spirit would be *in* us. It would not be some outside influence, but God Himself in our hearts. Jesus said the people who were not believers would not be able to receive Him, because they would not understand it at all, but the disciples would know Him because He would dwell in them.

E. M. And do you mean the Holy Spirit dwells in you?

Y. M. Yes, it is my definite experience. Exactly in the way Christ said. The Holy Spirit teaches me about Christ. He reproves me of sin when I do something Christ would not have done. He helps me to walk in the footsteps of Christ. And that you will find is the common experience of all true Christians.

E. M. If I understand you correctly, there was a time before Christ

when the Holy Spirit was not in the world in this way, and then a time when He came. How do you explain that?

Y. M. In the *Injil* there is a verse which says, that before Jesus had been glorified the Holy Spirit was not given. Now we must understand that in this way, that before Jesus died and was raised from the dead and ascended to heaven He was not glorified among men, i. e., the believers were not—could not be—absolutely sure that it really *was* this Jesus who revealed God in His person and who was the perfect man. But when God raised Him from the dead, God proved to the disciples that this Jesus was in truth the Son of God and the perfect man. Then, and only then, could the Holy Spirit take of the things of Jesus and apply it in the lives of the believers. Jesus was the absolute authority. That is why Jesus said it was best for them that He should go, so the Holy Spirit could come. I am sure you can see that?

E. M. Yes. But how did the Holy Spirit come?

Y. M. When Jesus left this world, He told His disciples to go to Jerusalem and wait there until the Holy Spirit came. This they did, and He came. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit. Their lives were changed. They, who had been cowards before, now became brave and were willing to bear all manner of suffering for Christ's sake. Their lives were filled with spiritual power, which was shown in works of righteousness and in the joy and gladness which they brought wherever they went. The presence of this new power in the Christians was so plain to other people that thousands of them became Christians in those days. You can read of it in the book of Acts in the New Testament. And since that time He has been with the Christian Church all over the world. That is an experience common to all Christians.

The elderly man again hesitated to speak, but when he did so it was to say:

I think I understand what you mean by the Holy Spirit. In the same way that you call Jesus the Son of God because you believe that He—in His person—reveals God to you, likewise you call the Holy Spirit God because He lives in you in a spiritual way, to lead you and guide you, so that you may become more and more like Christ? And Jesus Christ said that God, when He manifests Himself to you in personal dealings, is the Holy Spirit, and therefore you speak of Him as the Holy Spirit. Am I right?

Y. M. You are. And now tell me.—Do you now understand this "freedom" which we have in Christianity, and which our Moslem brethren do not understand?

E. M. I think so. Listen. God sent Jesus into the world as His revelation. Because, when the Jews killed Him, God raised Him from the dead, you believe He is the absolute and final authority, and the perfect man. Jesus took away all the old laws of "Do this and don't do that," and concentrated attention on Himself. And then Jesus promised that God the Holy Spirit would come to live in the hearts of everyone who believed Him (Jesus) to be the final and absolute authority and perfect revelation of God; and that the Holy Spirit would in every way help him to become like Jesus. Thus no laws are needed, because you are constantly aim-

ing at becoming like the perfect man, who of course is well-pleasing to God.

Y. M. Thank God that you have understood. And now I will pray that it may become your experience. And I want to thank you for the good time I have spent with you on this journey. I leave the train at the next station.

E. M. Also I want to thank you. Also I will pray that God will lead me in the right path. You know we Moslems do that in our prayers five times daily.

Y. M. Yes, I know. And I would ask you to think of our conversation every time you say those words in your prayer. I am sure God will hear you.

The train stopped, and the young man prepared to leave. But before doing so, he took out of his pocket an *Injil* and presented it to the elder, saying:

Keep this is remembrance of the conversation we have had today. It is my own personal *Injil,* and I give it to you because you have been kind to me.

They then took each other by the hand and gave the usual parting greetings:

May God be with you.
And with you.
Amen.

And they parted, and each went his own way. But the prayer of their parting greeting was fulfilled, for the Holy Spirit, who is all-pervading, went with each of them.

Mardan, India. JENS CHRISTENSEN.

FROM MARAUDER TO MYSTIC
(A SAINT OF RHODES)

From marauder to mystic, from bandit to beatified, from corsair to canonized is, like the road to Tipperary, "a long way to go." Murad Reis covered every inch of it. He did more than that. He had Moslem and Christian, Jew and Gentile revere him as a thaumaturge. Though centuries and more have passed since, he won his halo. The star and crescent of Turkey have given place to the tricolor and cross of Savoy. But, as Murad Reis ruled over the hearts and minds of men and women and not over walls and battlements, his sovereignty is as unimpaired today as it was in the distant past.

Neither fact nor fiction has identified the exact birthplace of this holy man, who began life as a highwayman of the seas. All that is known of his youth is that he hailed from Anatolia, that he spent his boyhood learning the craft of piracy. When he grew to man's estate, he had acquired sufficient experience as a cut-throat to assume command of a vessel of his own. Little by little, his daring, his skill, and, perhaps, his callousness, caused him to pass from the captaincy of a ship to the admiralty of a fleet. So adroitly did he administer this task, so relentlessly did he kill, and so artfully did he manœuvre, that the sultan saw the need of making a naval officer of so incorrigible a rascal. Murad Reis accepted the uniform thus tendered him. He served the Khalif with a loyalty that knew no alloy, a courage that knew no equal, and a success that knew no check.

When the evening of his days dawned, this faithful servant of his Imperial Master retired to Rhodes. His fame had preceded him. But the glory that was then his

was not that of the youthful bravo or of the swashbuckler of thirty. It was the renown of the man whom honors had made law-abiding and whom dignities had made chivalrous. He took his place in the pearl of the Ægean as a kind-hearted old gentleman who thought only of doing good and whose one object in life was to make others happy.

He was not the only Turk to whom Rhodes beckoned. Others answered its summons, but against their will. They found themselves in that beautiful island, enjoying its incomparable climate and contemplating its imposing rampants, because, during the days of Ottoman overlordship, great men who had ceased to be in favor along the shores of the Bosporus were transported to this attractive abode to vegetate in comfort and to die in peace.

These fallen dignitaries found in Murad Reis a benign benefactor. He solaced them with words that were as mellifluous as they were kind, and as sincere as they were spontaneous. Crowds congregated around him as he poured forth this wisdom into ears that had once been attuned to praise and which now sought only consolation.

When, with the passing of the years, the desperado who had become a devout man was called to another world, and those vizirs and pashas, who had found in him a friend whose spirituality had mitigated their sorrows, knew that their days were numbered, they asked that they be buried near the comforter of their souls and the consoler of their miseries. The people, knowing this, flocked to the tomb of the good man whose influence extended beyond the grave. They sought of his ashes the blessings which they had obtained from his lips.

In time, miracles were attributed to Murad Reis. His place in the hierarchy of Rhodian saints became assured. The burial plot where he slept surrounded by the great men of Turkey, who had died in exile, was soon converted into consecrated soil, whither pilgrims came from far and wide to beseech the intercession of so in-

fluential a saint. It thus came to pass that long before the eighteenth century ended, the tomb of Murad Reis had become a shrine. Devotees continued to flock to it from all over the Levant. Among its votaries was Muhammad Ali, a young Albanian then on his way to Egypt. That sturdy Moslem had a sharp sword and the ardent faith of a true Believer. He prayed before the ashes which time had converted into sacred relics. He asked that the Saint intercede with Allah and beseech the great God of Hosts to bless the sabre of the righteous and make him Ruler of the Valley of the Nile.

Allah granted what was thus asked of Him. Muhammad Ali became the virtual ruler of Egypt. Sixty years passed. His grandson, Ismail, became viceroy of Egypt and desired to obtain autonomy for Egypt. He journeyed to Constantinople in order to further his cause. On his way thither he called at Rhodes and besought the aid of Murad Reis. It was vouchsafed unto him. The Sultan yielded to the pressure thus applied, and Egypt became autonomous. Ismail, always a gentleman and never niggardly, bestowed a substantial monthly benefice upon the cemetery. His successors continue to this day to pay this sum to the graveyard authorities.

The administration of this trust is looked after by the head of the *Tekke* or convent of which the cemetery is a dependency. Some years before the Turks were expelled from Rhodes, the head of this establishment was a very old, a very erudite, and a very virile old sheikh. So aged, so wise, so vigorous was the elderly gentleman, that when he became an octogenarian he decided to take unto himself a young wife. His choice fell upon a youthful maiden of great beauty and of still greater intelligence. Before ten months had elapsed she presented her husband with a bouncing boy. The proud father did not long survive this honor. His young widow, in the midst of her sorrows, found time to capitalize her son's paternity and to get the other sheikhs of the convent to make this suckling infant the grand sheikh of the *Tekke*.

How she did this nobody knows. The decision was contrary to all prudence, violative of all rules, and destructive of all canons of Moslem law. But it was carried out with all of the solemnity of wax and parchment. It made the baby boy the head of the cemetery authorities. It empowered his mother to receipt for the Egyptian subsidy. It did not create, however, any machinery for compelling this lady to spend any money on the upkeep of the tombs. On the contrary, it engendered a moral obligation on her part to apply these funds to the education of the young grand sheikh, so that he might become worthy to fulfill the duties of his office.

This state of affairs continued for some time. But all things terminate. This condition came to an end when the Italian authorities investigated the matter and questioned the legality of the election of the child. It shocked them to find a boy installed as the titular head of a monastery and to see that a woman was the real abbot who collected the luscious subsidy, but the youth's title to the office was regular in form. It was a difficult thing for a Christian power to override a decision taken by a competent Moslem body. But the anomaly of the situation was so evident and the insufficiency of the funds left over after paying for the grand sheikh's education was so obvious, that, after long years of delay, and when the baby had become a man and was, perhaps, old enough to qualify as an *'Alim,* he and his mother were replaced by a most enlightened, energetic and pious sheikh who is now obviously using, for the upkeep of the cemetery, whatever subsidy Egypt may now pay him.

Even during the days when an Abbot was an Abbess or a Grand Sheikh, votaries flocked to the tomb of Murad Reis. They were Moslems, Christians and Jews. There were no Protestants, as Protestants are unknown to the Ægean Islands. There were, however, Catholics and Schismatics.

Now that the situation has been regularized and the head of the Murad Reis *Tekke* is once again a man of the

required age, knowledge and experience, devotees still continue to visit their patron saint and to place *ex-votos* on his tomb. These offerings take the form of pieces of cloth or of shreds torn from the garments of the pilgrims. There is now lying across the stone sarcophagus where the good man sleeps an exquisite embroidered cloth of gold. It is said to have been given by one of Khedive Ismail's widows. It is almost a museum piece. The pious Moslem princess who put it there has wisely taken the precaution of cutting holes into her gift in such a way as to destroy its commercial value and thus insure its permanency as an *ex-voto*.

There are other mementoes left by Orthodox Greek Christians of the vicinage. It is said that the wives of Catholic Italian officials have been frequent visitors to this tomb and have left their modest offerings, particularly when they have aspired to become mothers. Jewesses, likewise, make their appearance when they have a special blessing to ask of their Jehovah, but they seldom leave any souvenir. It is said in the Ægean Islands that Jews do not like to give anything, but that they are willing to ask for and to receive the favors of Murad Reis.

One wonders how many such shrines are scattered throughout the world where Moslems, Christians and Jews unite in paying homage to a saint who was once a sinner, or even to a saint whose youth had been monotonously pious.

Cairo, Egypt. PIERRE CRABITES.

CURRENT TOPICS

Romanticism in Islam and Dante

Writing on this subject in *The Catholic World* for July, 1932, Joseph Brodie Brosnan, M.A., compares the mystic poets of Islam with Dante, showing both the resemblances and the differences, the latter being due to the character of Islam and its Prophet.

"Miguel Asín y Palacios in his book, *La Eschatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia,* has pointed out striking resemblances between Dante and some Mussulman predecessors. Their writings it would seem then were tolerably well known to Dante and to the educated of Europe.

"Mussulman love whether as exemplified by Mohammed himself or as taught in the Koran is gross and carnal. Even in Paradise, the houris seem little more than heavenly courtesans set there to minister to carnal pleasure. Mohammed's sensuality is too well known to need specification. Yet it would be a great error to think that platonic and even spiritual love were unheard of among the Islamites. From their lives and teaching I divine that such love was hardly due to any religious motive. It was rather a revolt against the over-refined and excessive sensualism of Bagdad and Cordoba—a loathing begotten of surfeit, that brooked not what it loathed either on earth or in paradise.

"Of this romanticism so much in vogue among the Mussulmans, the writer who approaches nearest to Dante is perhaps Ibn Arabi. In both, the teaching is found that God is Love and that His love moves everything. God however is love itself—the center of the circle. All His creatures are but points on the circumference. On this center men depend for their existence, their mutual and eternal loves, for their relations among themselves and with their center. Yet in men the soul and mind best receive this attraction. It is hidden in their depths and glows in contemplation where its glory is revealed."

The whole article, from which we quote only a few paragraphs, is thoughtful and worth reading.

A South African Moslem Conference

We have received from Capetown a circular letter regarding a proposed conference, which is indicative of new activity on the part of Mohammedans in South Africa. The invitation is signed by ten leading Moslems, and the conference was held on March 25 in the City Hall.

"As you are no doubt aware, the Muslim population of South Africa is increasing in importance throughout the world. The present number in the Union is about 80,000. Thus you will see that no man, however

capable, or no provincial organization, however efficient, can possibly speak for the whole Muslim population in this country. It is obvious, therefore, that we must have some Muslim body that will be able to voice the opinions of all Muslim sections in the Union.

"At the present time there is no authoritative and recognized body that can express Muslim sentiment, Muslim ideas, and Muslim aspirations. You will therefore see the urgent need of establishing a South African Muslim Conference. It goes without saying that in order to embrace all sections, such an organization will have to be free from any party politics, or any racial or sectional bias. This Conference must stand solely for the physical, social, educational and spiritual upliftment of all Muslims in South Africa. And it is the duty of every true Muslim to assist to place Islam on a footing second to no other religion in the Union.

"Amongst other things to be discussed at the Conference, the following items are already on the Agenda:

1. Muslim Unity in South Africa.
2. The development of a proper educational system for Muslims in the Union.
3. The need for a S.A. Muslim College where the mediums will be Arabic, Urdu, English and Afrikaans.
4. The right to own land in the Transvaal on which Mosques are erected.
5. Muslim marriages, and the legalization of Muslim marriages in the Union according to Muslim law.
6. The need for a S.A. Muslim religious Council.
7. The necessity for appointing a South African Muslim Consul in Mecca, to assist S.A. Muslim pilgrims.
8. The need for a Muslim Consul resident in South Africa.
9. The advisability of affiliating with the All-India Muslim Conference.
10. The inauguration of a South African Muslim Mission."

New Highways in Yemen

An American engineer, employed jointly by the government of the Yemen (in southern Arabia) and by an American philanthropist, reports that the highway he has been engaged in constructing between Hodeida, a port on the Red Sea, and Sanaa, the capital of the Yemen, is nearing completion, and should be open for motor traffic within twelve months.

The distance between the two termini is about 200 miles. For the first fifty miles out of Hodeida in a northeasterly direction the road passes over the Tehama, a low coastal plain. For the next 150 miles it winds over a mountain range to the capital, which has an altitude of 7,500 feet.

Blasting, grading and the preparing and laying of rock materials for this hard-surfaced highway are being done with road machinery and equipment of American manufacture, by native labor under American supervision. An important feature of this highway is the erection of a steel-truss suspension bridge, all materials for which have come from the United States. This bridge, located ninety-six miles east of Hodeida at an elevation of 1,100 feet, is the only one of its kind in all Arabia.

The government of the Yemen had several hundred men employed in the construction of a second highway from Hodeida to Sanaa, which extends in a curve to the south of the straight line between the port and the capital. This will open up a section of the country about 100 miles south of the northern Hodeida-Amran-Sanaa route. The road will be easier and less costly to construct than the northern highway, as it passes around the mountain range.—*United States Commerce Reports.*

A New Motor Route in Arabia

We learn from the *Star* (Allahabad) that a new motor route is to be built from Najaf to Mecca.

"Apart from such intractable and inhospitable regions as the Rub' al Khali, the deserts of Arabia have yielded with remarkable rapidity to the conquest of the motor-car. The latest route over which it is contemplated running a service of cars is from Najaf to Mecca, *via* Hayil. This possibility is the direct result, of course, of the improvement in relations which has happily come about between Iraq and the Hijaz-Najd. It is proposed, apparently, to help at once would-be pilgrims to Mecca from the Middle East, in avoiding the land and sea route and the coffers of the Hijaz, by the attraction of more pilgrims. This particular route has, of course, been considered before by people interested in motoring enterprise, but so long as Iraqi-Wahhabi relations were strained, a route through the old capital of the Rashids was out of the question. Now, however, it has become a serious possibility, and it is believed that the Governments of Iraq and the Hijaz-Najd are addressing themselves to the necessary details. It is stated that there are an adequate number of wells between Najaf and Hayil (350 miles) and between Hayil and Mecca (430 miles), and the track is said to be possible. This route is, of course, well enough known, having been used for centuries by pilgrims moving in more leisurely fashion. There certainly would be picturesqueness in the opening of the motor route if, as has been suggested, no less a personage than King Faisal were the first to travel by it."

The Mosques of Peiping

"I have visited ten of the Mosques of Peiping, which are now said to total thirty-six. I am told by Moslem friends that there are two women's mosques already in use for some time and a third under construction. I have visited one of these latter and recently had the privilege of taking Miss Ruth F. Woodsmall of the Layman's Foreign Mission Inquiry there for a brief visit. Miss Woodsmall was impressed by the cordial welcome which we received, as is almost always the case at the mosques which I have visited, here in Peiping. She said that the manner of worship here closely resembled that which she has observed in distinctively Moslem lands, but she feels that the Moslem women are much freer here and that the whole social outlook and life of the Moslem community is less restricted. One of the head *ahungs* at a nearby mosque has been especially kind in helping me to review my Arabic. I have been impressed by the Arabic scholarship of some of the men here, by the efforts which they are making to build up good

Arabic libraries in spite of the great difficulty and expense connected with getting Arabic books, and by the real esteem and affection which they received from their followers and pupils. I often feel a real sense of worship and of spiritual hunger in their services."

LYMAN HOOVER.

Was Mohammed a False Prophet?

A Moslem inquirer from Dinajpur, India, writes to *Epiphany* (Calcutta) asking whether Mohammed was a false prophet or a true prophet of God. This is the answer given:

"Mohammed attests the previous Scriptures, and yet denies their essential truths. These Scriptures have been translated into every language and may be read by all. Copies still in existence today (*e. g.*, among the Syrian Christians of South India) date back to hundreds of years before Mohammed's time, and prove beyond question that they have not changed.

"The great object of these Scriptures is to represent the Messiah as divine, God and man, and His death as an atoning sacrifice. No one who reads them can deny this for a moment.

"And yet Mohammed denies these very things. What sort of a prophet is this?

"Moreover the Scriptures know nothing of his coming, and declare that Christ is the last and final Messenger of God. Read the Scriptures for yourself and see."

Islam and Socialism

A recent pamphlet was published in Paris by Mouhsine Barazi which endeavors to show that Islamic jurisprudence is averse to Socialism. Professor D. S. Margoliouth in a review of the pamphlet says:

"Dr. Barazi has no difficulty in proving that the Koran and the Tradition both recognize the institution of private property; and that the systems based on these foundations have no sympathy with either the rigid communism of Plato's Republic or the modified communism of his Laws. His legal training has enabled him to produce a very helpful study of the attitude adopted by the Islamic jurists towards the principles involved in Socialism, and the modifications of the private control of property which their systems admit. Though the authorities whom he cites are not invariably weighty, his conclusions seem generally to be sound.

If, as the second definition cited indicates, Socialism involves both ownership and control by the community as a whole, Islamic practice, and to some extent theory, would be far more adverse to the latter than to the former. Different monarchs took different views of their duties in the disposal of the "wealth of the Moslems," i. e., the proceeds of taxation; their right to dispose of it was rarely questioned. Anything like republican government was till recent times so rare in Islamic communities that the cases of it might be said to be negligible; and control by the community is scarcely compatible with autocratic government. Hence history as well as jurisprudence is in accord with Dr. Barazi's thesis."

A Versified Koran from Cyprus

An "Original Versified Translation and Commentary of The Sacred Book of The Islam" has appeared at Nicosia in Cyprus from the pen of Nejmi Sagib Bodamialisade, Director of Shakespeare School. Here is a sample of Surah 96:

"By the Name of Allah, most munificent,
almighty, all-merciful, most beneficent.

READ by The Name of ALLAH, The Almighty Author,
Read, learn, teach, publish all the world over;
Read by the help of your LORD, who created Man,
Gave senses and reason, taught the uses of Pen;
To learn and teach is part of Moslems' Worship,
Fulfil your highest, brightest duty, don't slip;
Yea, teach Islam, the True Religion for all,
Save Mankind from darkness, error and fall;
Read, learn, teach Gouran, the Sacred Treasure
Of Light Divine for all in the world everywhere;
GOD's greatest Gift is ability to learn,
All Knowledge is Holy, don't neglect, don't spurn;
All riches and earthly glories are transient, vain,
Prefer Knowledge to every kind of wealth and renown;
The highest Glory is Justice, Truth and Devotion,
The highest Renown is the highest Civilization;
Obey ALLAH, you shall return to HIM,
Be not envious, idle, ignorant and dim.
Those who prevent from worship and learning shall
Be punished with everlasting Fire and Hell;
The Light of Knowledge is the greatest power,
Man can by it rule all the forces of Nature,
Defeat his foes, supply his needs anywhere;
Advancement, success and every perfection,
Is based upon Knowledge and Education;
Fight Ignorance: Source of slavery and Evil,
The Moslems must be saved and enlightened all.
O Nations, know and obey ALLAH, your Preserver,
Almighty, All-Wise, Eternal and Knowledge-Giver."

Islam and Modernist Churchmen

In a recent appeal sent out locally in India to supporters of *The Islamic Review, Woking,* the following claim is made: "The *Review* has almost destroyed Christianity in the West. Faith in the West has been from time to time in the melting pot of modernisation (*sic*) but it is sure to produce good results at this time. The Modernist Churchmen have approached the matter right earnestly. Their culture and education would not allow them to stoop to any nonsense, especially when they see their work of 15 years in cleansing the Church of all that had been incorporated into its faith from the pagan origin.

"The modernists make nearly half of the people of the West. We admit that they will not come under the flag of Islam at once, but they are bound to assimilate principles of our faith into their creed. It is now

high time to bring the Quran before them. We appreciate the noble efforts of the modernists and with a genuine desire to help them Khwaja Kamal-ud-din Sahib, the Editor of the *Islamic Review,* has begun to publish a new commentary of the Holy Quran. . . . We have requested our modernist friends to read the pages of our new commentary and have assured them that they will find enough material in the pages of the Quran to base their new creed on its tenets."

The new commentary referred to above is to appear first of all in the pages of the *Review,* in fact half the Journal will be taken up with it.

The Khwaja intends the commentary chiefly for modernists of whom he appears to be greatly enamoured. Writing of the achievements of the *Review,* and Muslim propaganda by means of it in the West, he says in a pamphlet that is issued with the appeal: "Our work has so far been confined more or less to that of exposing the hollowness of Christianity. I think this work is almost completed. Vacant pews and empty benches of the churches in the West eloquently speak that the religion passed under the name of Christ is not wanted. Our success in this respect became accelerated by the noble efforts of the Modernists in the Christian camp. . . . They spent their efforts in purging the Church of all that crept into it from paganism. It means a total destruction of the very superstructure on which the Church in the West has been built. (The Khwaja's English is really funny at times.) In doing so they have followed the Quran word by word. . . . In September, 1931, they gave a final knock out to Christianity. *They now want to dispense with the prevailing creed itself and desire for a new religion.* In other words, they have exiled the formal Christianity from her homeland."

What he is getting at becomes clear in the next sentence. "The Modernists till now have nobly helped in our work. . . . It is now our duty to help them in arriving at their new creed." . . . *"But my labor would remain ineffectual if the circle of its (the Review's) readers is not widened. . . . I wish to bring thousands of non-Muslim gentlemen on our complimentary list. . . . Two subscriptions would enable us to issue one copy free of charge in the desired quarters."* —*News and Notes.*

Le Film "Christus" à Téhéran

A l'occasion des fêtes de Noël un cinéma de Téhéran a donné le film « Christus » ; pendant quinze jours (deux représentations par jour), la salle fut comble. Chrétiens et musulmans, les gens du peuple comme les plus hautes personnalités de la ville, voulaient admirer sur l'écran la vie du Christ, et entendre chanter les Noëls traditionnels. L'impression produite fut des meilleures. (*Fides*)

Education of Women in Syria

An interesting article appears in the last number of *The Open Court* on Social and Economic Trends in Modern Syria. The writer, S. A. Mokarzel, himself a Syrian, expresses his delight at the changed conditions in regard to the education of women, as contrasted with those that obtained some years ago.

"Now, however, Moslems themselves are advocating not only

literacy for women but some sort of vocational education and training. A year ago the first Syrian Moslem woman physician to graduate in America returned to Beirut to engage in practice; a Syrian Druze girl last year won her second scholarship at Vassar and, having taken her M.A. and proceeding toward a Ph.D. degree at Chicago, she now holds a research assistantship in the Oriental Institute; another Druze girl, only a few years since, created a sensation in Syria by openly championing the cause of woman's emancipation and discarding the veil.

"But what must be greater cause for surprise is the fact that the Syrian government, on its own initiative, sent a Moslem girl to France in 1929 to specialize in the study of modern education. And this comes from the government of a country which in its proverbial observance of religious traditions heretofore had incorporated in its draft constitution for a Syrian republic the stipulation that the president must be of the Moslem faith.

"Attending the various schools of Beirut alone there are now, according to reliable statistics, more than a thousand Moslem girls, while twenty years ago there were not more than thirty.

"This educational movement among the women of Syria is accelerating the process of emancipation and already making its impression both on the economic status of women and the general economic organization of the country. My personal experience may serve as an illustration. When I first landed in Beirut, in the summer of 1929, the first customs official I met was a native woman. Later, upon visiting the Saraya to pay my respects to the President of the Republic, I discovered that the head of the government Information Bureau also was a native woman who at one time had been a resident of the United States. I was interested in discovering the extent to which the women of Syria had progressed in their emancipation movement and asked that lady for information on the point. She told me that in the service of the Lebanese government alone there were no less than two hundred young women, while in the city of Beirut much over five hundred were employed at various gainful occupations. I was not surprised, therefore, when later, in passing through one of the principal streets, I came across a large sign in Arabic and French reading: 'Girls' Business School—Courses in Typewriting and Stenography.' "

Progress in Northern Nigeria

There has been considerable progress in Northern Nigeria among the Moslem tribes, as we learn from the last issue of *Africa:*

"The Annual Report on the Northern Provinces of Nigeria states that in 1931 for the first time an Advisory Council of Chiefs was held. The first step towards this new departure consisted in holding regional conferences attended by various groups of chiefs. These meetings were so successful that it was decided to hold an Advisory Council of Chiefs for the whole of the Northern Provinces. It took place at Kaduna and was attended by chiefs from every province, both Moslem and non-Moslem. While the final effect of the conference cannot yet be appreciated, its immediate result was clear in the active interest shown in the discussions, in the sound judgment evidenced, and in the tone of cordial friendliness in which the deliberations were conducted.

Another important item in the Report is the information that Primary and Craft Schools have been merged into Middle Schools in which manual training is given to all pupils for their first two years, after which the choice of a literary or manual course is given. The number of elementary schools has increased from 95 to 106. An Elementary Training Centre has been opened at Katsina for the training of teachers for the Moslem elementary schools. The teaching in these village schools is entirely of a religious nature, but it is hoped that by giving instruction in elementary secular subjects to the teachers of these schools the beginnings of a more general education will be introduced."

The Koran in Chinese

The following article appeared in the current number of *Friends of Moslems* (Hankow):

"Although there have been Moslems in China for over 12 centuries, it does not appear that any complete translation of the Koran into Chinese has been published until within quite recent years. Selections are to be found in various booklets, written in various styles of language, mostly of the colloquial kind. The famous Moslem writer of two centuries ago, Liu Chiai-lien, spent very many years in translating other Arabic works, and he wished to translate the Koran, but never did so. Another famous writer, Ma Fu-ch'u translated twenty books of the Koran, but the calamity of fire destroyed all but five, and these were never published, but remained in manuscript.

"In the first number of the *Friends of Moslems,* in 1927, I told of four contemplated attempts to translate the whole book, these being (1) In Peking, in connection with a weekly magazine, *Mohammedan Voice,* a version which was to be published there. (2) A Japanese Moslem, Mr. Sakuma, intending to prepare a Chinese translation from English copies, as he did not know Arabic. (3) The Ahmadiyya Movement which had already published the lengthy preface to Muhammad Ali's translation of the Koran into English, and announced the intention of putting the whole work into Chinese. (4) The China Muslim Literary Society (Shanghai) began publishing a translation in their magazine as a serial.

"So far as I know, none of these efforts have thus far been completed. The last-named published a number of the articles, from which we can judge the character of the work, and in anticipation of its ultimate completion I shall here refer to it as a translation of the book. From two other sources we now have complete translations of the Koran into Chinese, so we may say that China is now provided with three translations of this famous work. Our members will be interested to know a little more about these literary productions, which I will refer to in the order of their appearance.

"A. In the June number of *The China Muslim* for 1926, the first Sura, and part of the lengthy second Sura, appeared in Chinese. Other parts have followed, but I have not seen any lately. This translation follows that of Muhammad Ali, and is divided into sections, as well as verses. It is in rather difficult Wen-li, not always clear, and not always actual translation.

B. In 1927 there was published at Peking the 可蘭經 translated 錚鐵. It is complete in one volume of 463 pages, and costs $1.80. This work is not divided into sections, and the verses are not numbered, which makes reference difficult. The translator is not a Moslem, and he uses non-Moslem terms, such as 上帝 and 神 for God. 耶穌 is used for Jesus, instead of the Moslem 爾撒. The translator misunderstands the divine "We" so as to use the plural 吾等 and 吾曹 for the singular, which will be repellant to the orthodox Moslem. The style of language is simpler than in "A", but is not always clear.

"C. In the spring of 1931 there was published a new translation of the Koran, sponsored by Mr. S. A. Hardoon, a wealthy Jew of Shanghai, who died quite recently. This work took over three years to complete, and represents the efforts of Mr. Chi Chioh Mi—a noted Buddhist scholar—and several Moslem co-workers. It is issued in eight volumes, old Chinese style, very well printed. The price is $8.00. It is said that 20,000 copies were published, for an appropriation of $50,000. There are several prefaces, in which are various inaccuracies, such as saying that Islam entered China in the Sui dynasty, which should be T'ang dynasty, and also saying that the entry was 'near 2000 years ago,' an error of about 700 years. Mohammad Ali is said to be a European, whereas he was an Indian.

"This translation has depended much upon the English versions of Sale, Rodwell, and Mohammad Ali; and also upon the Japanese version of Sakamoto, as well as the two Chinese versions mentioned above. It is divided into sections, and the verses are numbered. There are occasional slight annotations. The style is good Wen-li, yet not always clear. At times the translation is faulty, and occasionally additions are made to the text." ISAAC MASON.

Islam in Pittsburgh

For some time past many Negroes have settled in the Pittsburgh region. One of the presbytery's colporteurs has observed that wily Mohammedans have lately been working among them; and a pastor highly esteemed confirms this news. They argue: "Do you see what Christians do to you? They brought you here as slaves, and have oppressed you ever since. But we Mohammedans are all brothers. The Bible says Jesus was buried in Palestine; but here we have a picture of his tomb in India." And they translate passages from the Arabic Koran. Where Negroes are fortified by the Scriptures, they can resist this invasion. Hence, a new need for colportage and missionary work.—*The United Presbyterian.*

"We Detest War"

"Is there any human person who likes war? I cannot imagine any such person except some passionate politicians or exploiters. A few days ago I was present at the celebration of our national Democratic festival. When I saw about 10,000 young men, strong and cheerful, marching in the streets and I thought that all these young men could be annihilated in a brief period of half an hour in case of a war, I felt a deep dislike of war. How many thousands of young men passed through

Constantinople during the war, and how few of them could return home! I recollected how once at Gallipoli a regiment of 12,000 was annihilated during one night. In the Great War we lost at least 550,000 men, and the world 10,000,000. I thought of these facts, also of the terror in the event of a war in the future when not only soldiers but civilians will be killed ruthlessly by poison gas, air bombs, microbes, etc. I felt a great abhorrence of war. If men in the future attempt war in spite of all these cruelties and terrors, the world will be an abode not of men of reason but an asylum of insanes."

Jumhuriet (Stambul).

The Rev. Percy Smith, B.D. (London)

The Rev. Percy Smith, B.D. (London), labored from 1899 to 1909 at Constantine, Algeria, as a missionary of the British North Africa Mission. He and his colleague, the Rev. J. L. Lochhead, were unusually successful in work among both Moslems and Europeans.

Early in 1910 Mr. Smith became identified with the new mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church in North Africa, having charge of the Moslem work at Constantine until early in 1913. With his wife, he established late in 1910 the first Arab Boys' Home of the Mission. In 1913 he was released from the general work to enable him to devote himself to the Arab Boys' Home and to literary work. In 1921, relieved also of the Arab Boys' Home, he gave himself more fully to literary work, and a Theological Training Class. In 1923 he was transferred to Algiers to occupy himself wholly with literary production and publication, with some teaching in the Theological School. In this work he continued to his death in 1932.

His chief literary work was the translation of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament into the modern Arabic of Algeria, and the writing, translating and revising of hymns for the Arabic Hymn Book which he produced and which is used by all the missions. As a member of the Intermission Committee for Literature for Moslems and of the Near East Christian Council he rendered valuable service.

The writer has never known a more fully rounded character, or a man of better judgment. He was a safe counselor; a good and careful man of affairs; a scholar in the best sense of the term; broad, but never shallow; liberal, yet unshakable in the essential verities. Above all, he was a man of God, his soul ever alert to spiritual things and aflame with the widest and fullest evangelical and evangelistic fervor and love for souls, an ideal missionary, a real apostle of his Lord, whom he knew so intimately and loved so simply yet so wholly. He literally gave his all.

What he did abides in saved souls, consecrated lives, and in the influence of his literary work, which will go on and on in ever widening circles.

Mrs. Smith died only a few weeks before her husband. She was not only an ideal helpmate and mother, but made her own distinct contribution in the general work among both Europeans and Arabs, and particularly in mothering the boys in the Arab Boys' Home. To her, the life which is to come was as real as the life which now is. It was peculiarly fitting that they should go to their reward so close together.

EDWIN F. FREASE.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Jesuits and the Great Mogul. By Sir Edward Maclagan. Burns Oates, London, 1932. pp. 434. 17/6.

When Milton, in Paradise Lost, depicts the Archangel Michael as showing to Adam the future empires of his progeny, his vision sweeps through Asia till he comes to Agra and Lahore of the Great Mogul. The poet doubtless realized that more than one envoy from the King of England had of late years visited the court of the Great Akbar and his successors. But he probably knew little of the religious enterprise that was being carried on in this potent centre of Moslem rule and culture, vying in magnificence and influence with the empire of the Sultan in Bizance-Turkestan. It was an historic episode in the contact of Christian evangelism with Islam, and we welcome a careful study of it, both scholarly, lucid and interesting, by one whose career as administrator and statesman in India has given him special opportunities for observation and research. During his service in the Punjab, Sir Edward founded the Punjab Historical Society; and with the help of an eminent contemporary Jesuit historian, Father H. Hosten, he has given us a history of the Jesuit Mission to the court of Akbar, which is likely to stand as *the* authoritative work upon the subject. The reviewer, who often suffers from deficient arrangement of matter, owes a word of thanks to the author for admirable inset headings and indexes which greatly facilitate references. Maps too, so often omitted in historical works, are furnished, though on a less adequate scale.

Delhi is "out of the picture." The present Old Delhi or Shajahanabad was built by Akbar's grandson and inaugurated by him in 1648, nearly a century after Akbar's accession. In less than three hundred years it has been superseded or supplemented by a new Delhi, till when? Since 1510 the Portuguese power had been established at Goa and it possessed a stronghold in the west at Hugli. Early in the 17th century visits had been paid to the court of the Great Mogul by British envoys, Hawkins and Roe; but the dominant western influence was that of Portugal, a power devoted to the Roman Church. In 1539 the Jesuit Order had been established, with the twofold object of extirpating heresy and of enlarging the borders of the Church. In 1542 Sir Francis Xavier arrived in India and evangelized the regions about Goa, that being the Portuguese centre. It was in 1573 that Akbar first met with a deputation of Portuguese from Goa. In 1578 a priest named Percira was invited to his court. He was permitted to expose, as far as a foreigner could, the errors of Islam, which faith the emperor even then very loosely held, and the next year Akbar despatched an embassy to Goa, asking that the Viceroy would send "two learned priests, who would bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for

I wish to study and learn the Law." So began the Mission to Mogar, as the Portuguese writers styled the Mogul dominions. The first Mission reached Akbar's new capital of Fatehpur Sikri (near Agra) in 1580, and one of the leaders accompanied him on his campaign to Kabul. They were treated with distinction, and allowed to worship and to preach (as far as they could in Persian). But opposition became too strong, and in 1583 Father Aquaviva returned to Goa, but was martyred before he reached it. In 1591 a second mission arrived at Lahore, but stayed only a short time. In 1595 a third Mission under Father Jerome Xavier arrived at Lahore, and from that time till 1614 Father Jerome labored in Mogar. He accompanied Akbar on a pleasure journey to Kashmir, and afterwards went with him to Agra and to the Deccan campaign. During this period Akbar formally abandoned Islam, and encouraged the utmost freedom of debate by Mullahs and Pandits as well as by Christian priests. The latter he treated with distinction, and sometimes with affection; and full toleration was granted to their efforts. With a desire for personal power Akbar combined an easy-going syncretism in religion and a shrewd perception that the ruler's authority must be based on harmony among his subjects and friendly relations with his neighbors. Hence his line of behavior towards a Christian Mission sponsored by the most powerful maritime kingdom of that day. Whether Akbar on his deathbed recanted his apostasy, is uncertain. The tradition that he had a Christian wife, Maryam, does not seem to rest on a basis of fact.

Under Jahangir the work of the Mission continued. Father Xavier wrote a *Life of Christ,* and a treatise on Christian doctrine called *The Truth-showing Mirror.* He also translated the Psalms from the Vulgate and possibly the Gospels. These and other smaller works were in Persian, that being the literary language of North India under the Moguls, till India developed; they were intended for followers of Islam, and their appeal to Hindus must have been negligible. Two sons of Prince Daniyal (grandsons of Akbar) were instructed by Father Corsi and baptized with great éclat in 1610, but after a very few years they relapsed. More permanent effects resulted from the baptism of Muqarrib Khan, Governor of Cambay in 1611. He seems to have practised Christian worship as occasion offered, but his domestic life was not ordered on Christian principles. However, all his life he acted as a faithful friend and helper to the missionaries. The other converts of the Missions were mainly of inferior rank, and largely dependent on the help of the Fathers.

Under Shah Jahan (from 1632) affairs took an unfavorable turn, owing to political events. The authorities of the Portuguese settlement at Hugli thought themselves able to defy the paramountcy of the emperor. Once he put forth his power their fate was sealed. After a brave defence of three months, Hugli was captured, its alien masters destroyed and scattered. It was the beginning of the end of Portuguese rule in India and with it of the Jesuit Mission, but the end was long drawn out, for these indomitable missionaries extended their plans far beyond India. In 1603 Brother Goez left Lahore to discover Cathay, where "Prester John" was supposed to be a Christian King beyond the Himalayas. In Tibet, Goez was greatly struck by the resemblance of the Buddhist ritual to that of the Roman Church. But

though he did his best to prepare the way for a Mission there, he recognized that Tibet was not Cathay. That, he found after one of the great journeys of the world, was China. There Christians had been, but their traces were vanishing, and there in Su-Chen he laid down his life, before he could join hands with the Roman missionaries already established in Peking. Later on an effort was made to establish a mission in Lesser Tibet. The ruler of Gūgé at Tsaparang was very friendly, but in a few years war broke out with the Ladakis, who destroyed his capital and ousted the Christians. Other efforts in Garhwal and Eastern Bengal were shortlived. Weak congregations struggled on in Agra, Delhi, and Lahore; but in 1759 the Jesuit Order was banished from the remaining Portuguese territory in India. In 1773 the Pope abolished the Society of Jesus, and other orders took up such work as remained.

The Jesuit Mission to the Court of the Great Mogul was the first systematic effort of the Church to evangelize a Moslem people. What was the cause of its tragic failure? Not, assuredly, lack of devotion, piety, courage or perseverance. We have to remember that before this all evangelism in lands ruled by Islam had been prevented by consistent application of the death penalty for apostasy from Islam, and that of course excluded the man who would persuade Moslems to commit a capital crime. The attempt in the sixteenth century to surmount this barrier took place under a prince who sat loose to the principles of Islam, and at a time when the maritime power of the West had begun to gain a foothold of rule in Asia, although as yet there was no great difference in cultural level between the Mogul and the Portuguese. The chief feature in which the palm was yielded to the West was the art of painting. The Mogul régime had its school of miniature painters who still survive. One of my best literary assistants in India was a scholar of Mogul lineage, though in reduced circumstances. An unorthodox Musalman, he was reticent about his hereditary profession, but one day he confided to me that his people followed the calling of *musawwirs* or painters, which was considered as forbidden by the strictest sect. But large scale religious pictures by European artists were imported, and displayed with great effect in church and palace. For weeks, multitudes, from the Emperor downwards, craved to gaze on the paintings and listen to the Fathers' Persian discourse on them; but the effect was no more lasting than that of most picture-shows.

It was natural that the Mission of the Jesuit Fathers should work on political lines, but that also was its undoing. It was better far for the entry of the Gospel among the Moslems of India that the admission of its messengers should be refused for a time by the ruling power, as was Henry Martyn by the East India Company, when he started his work by the translation of a book, while he consorted with men of low degree. The countenance and support of the prince and the ruling classes was a primary consideration for the Jesuit Fathers of Mogar, and it was in the Persian of polite society and government that they composed such works as they could to set forth the claims of the Christian faith. As for rendering the basis of it, the Christian Scriptures, into the speech of the common people, that would doubtless have startled them as heresy. In his discriminating and voluminous history, eight pages give all that Sir Edward Maclagan has to tell of the Mission

under the heading of Culture and Language. Considering the virtues and abilities of the missionaries, the work on this side is meagre. Sedulous recital and teaching of Latin offices and catechisms was more in evidence than study of Arabic for the learned, or of Hindustani for the vulgar. Study of Sanskrit and of Hinduism was almost *nil*. The Fathers can hardly be said to have come into contact with the Indian mind, and the congregations which they gathered remained mostly dependents of the Mission. We have much to learn, both from their mistakes and their devotion. They were the first to represent the Christian Church in a systematic evangelization of Moslems. If we can (as we think) see further towards the goal, it is partly because we stand upon their shoulders.

London. H. U. W. STANTON.

The Influence of Islam: A study of the effect of Islam upon the psychology and civilization of the races which profess it. By E. J. Bolus, M.A., B.D. Temple Bar Publishing Co., London, 1932. pp. 199. 10/6 net.

The author is a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and at present Vicar of Monk Sherborne. Many have made the attempt to estimate the influence of Islam on the history of civilization. From Voltaire and Goethe to Carlyle and Schlegel there have been many value-judgments on the part of those whose literary lustre and historical acumen few would call into question.

It is thirteen hundred years since Mohammed died, and the verdict of history is not yet definite on the social, intellectual, and spiritual movement that took its rise at Mecca and Medina. In the introduction, Mr. Bolus points out the essential unity of Islamic civilization, despite its wide area and long history. "Amid all the diversity of types it is not difficult to detect a likeness. Adherence to Islam sets a definite mark upon a man. It gives to him certain habits of thought, a special demeanour, a disposition tending towards peculiar virtues and peculiar faults." He does not seek, however, to indict a religion, nor to describe Islam as Heine did Judaism—"Not so much a religion as a misfortune."

In twelve chapters we have an account of Islam in various parts of the Near East, in Afghanistan and North Africa. Then follows a treatment of Islam in relation to Law, Reality, Mysticism, Art and Ethics. There are numerous references to authorities, but these are not always well chosen. The author distinguishes clearly between Nationalism as a cause of reform and Islam as a religion. Speaking of Egypt he says: "Nobody will pretend that the recent political and social changes in Egypt were inspired by Islam. The written Constitution professes to ensure religious freedom for all—a provision entirely abhorrent from the doctrine of the Qur'an. In the struggle for independence the idea of Allah faded into the background. The nation itself became the presiding deity. Although Egypt did not follow the Turks so far as to disestablish Islam, the reforms were essentially the achievement of free-thinkers and modernists." The book ends abruptly, and the author does not sum up his conclusions, with which, in the general discussions, we are agreed. It is unfortunate, however, that there are some indications of careless thinking, for example: "Sunna is founded upon tradition;"

"Moslems make no difference between traditions and the Koran in common speech;" "It is accounted an impiety to translate the Koran;" "to Ar Razi belongs the credit of discovering smallpox, a disease not known to the ancient Greeks."

On page 171 the author speaks of "animals slaughtered by Christians in the name of Jesus," and on page 176 the Mohammedan Fast month is three times spelled *Ramdan*. We also wonder why an account of the Ahmadiyas has been inserted, without special reason, in the chapter on North and Central Africa! These criticisms, however, do not detract from the real value of a book which deserves a place on the shelf next to Servier's study on "La Psychologie Musulmane."

Z.

L'éloge du Vin (Al Khamriya): Poème Mystique de 'Omar Ibn al Faridh et son commentaire par 'Abdalghani an Nabolosi, traduits de l'arabe avec la collaboration de 'Abdelmalek Faraj, et précédés d'une étude sur le coufisme et la poésie mystique musulmane. Les Editions Vega, Paris. pp. 266. 20 fr.

Omar Ibn al Faridh was born in Cairo in 1181, and left Egypt for a brief visit to Mecca. He died in 1235. His tomb in Egypt is one of the sacred shrines for Sufis. In this little volume we have one of his poems translated, together with the commentary of Nabulusi. The first part of the book (pp. 9 to 102) consists of an essay on Moslem Mysticism, a brief life of Ibn Faridh and a list of his translated works. The character of the poem is expressed in the following quotation: "Comme le Cantique des cantiques et comme tant de mystiques, Ibn al Faridh exprime l'amour divin sous des figures profanes. Il use avec virtuosité de toutes les resources du symbolisme érotique et du symbolisme bachique si développés dans la poésie arabe." Z.

The Philosophy of Islam. By Khan Sahib Khaja Khan, B.A., Hogarth Press, Madras, 1932. 2nd Edition. pp. viii-120. Rs. 1-4-0.

After nearly thirty years the author of *Studies in Tasawwuf* has brought out a revised edition of his *Philosophy of Islam* which appeared first in 1903. It does not pretend to be more than a brief sketch of such an intricate subject, and the author is well aware of its limitations. In fact, perhaps the name is a bit misleading, for it is more of a philosophy of Islamic mysticism than of Islam in the broader sense. Considered from this point of view it is packed full of ideas both interesting and curious. The chapter on Cosmological Conceptions is a fascinating exposition of the metaphysical excursions of the mind of the Sufi philosopher. The other five chapters deal with The Psychological Aspect, the Ethical Basis, the Historical Development, the Doctrine of Ayan-i-Thabita, and Tasawwuf and Modern Research.

Of all these the best and most profitable for study is the chapter dealing with the Ethical Basis. This is a clear and well presented description of the methods and practices adopted by various Sufi orders for the purpose of developing perfection of character as understood by the Sufi.

The book is useful as a supplementary text-book, especially for those who already have some knowledge of Islamic philosophical terminology. For those who do not have such an acquaintance, a very helpful glossary of such terms is to be found at the end. Unfortunately the book is

marred by bad proof reading, and by a not too consistent system of transliteration of the Arabic and Persian words.

MURRAY T. TITUS.

Researches in Manichaeism, with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments. By A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. New York, Columbia University, 1932. Cloth, 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 393. $5.

This erudite volume—the thirteenth in the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, which is being edited by this author—is a notable contribution to the rapidly growing literature on Manichaeism. This eclectic, highly imaginative, well-organized, and widely propagated offshoot of Zoroastrianism has until quite recently been presented chiefly upon the basis of the polemical writings of the Church Fathers. But the discovery in 1902-1903 by some German scholars of actual Manichaean documents in the Turfan region of Central Asia has thrown new light on many controversial points connected with this remarkable revival and adaptation to foreign lands of the dualistic religion of ancient Persia.

For the general reader the most interesting of the thirteen "Studies" that make up this volume will doubtless be the introductory one—a brief but incisive sketch of Manichaeism and its history. But the real value of the book lies in the critical and richly annotated translations of four Turfan Manichaean fragments in Middle Persian, in the literal rendering and elucidation of three anti-Manichaean texts (one of which was translated by the late Dr. Yohannan), and in the four special monographs on various Manichaean subjects.

The several Indexes, comprising over fifty pages, impress one with the technical character of the main contents of the book, while the bibliography of thirteen pages gives all needed guidance to those desiring to become better acquainted with the latest researches in this field.

Princeton, N. J. F. W. LOETSCHER.

People of the Book. By Major A. J. Pott, D.C.M. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., London, 1932. pp. 261. 5s.

The writer of these sketches served with distinction in South Africa, and in 1914 was appointed to the Egyptian army and went to the Sudan. He died in February of last year. The book is informative, lucid and at the same time a memorial to a fine soldier and a servant of the Empire. It reveals the intrepid courage and endurance of men, both black and white, in the Sudan, and pictures the fearfully depressing conditions of life in remote regions, which are the test of will-power and character. A large proportion of the inhabitants of the Sudan are Moslems, hence the title of the book. Major Pott was interested in the people in the right sense of the word, and his long stay among them enabled him to acquire a knowledge of their inner life. He cheerfully and unflinchingly bore the white man's burden in the progress of civilization and good government. A. E. Z.

Die Idee der Sünde: Ihre Entwicklung in den Hochreligionen des Orients und Occidents. By Gustav Mensching. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1931. pp. 112. RM 4.80.

The author is Professor of History of Religion at the University of Riga, and this special study on sin in the various ethnic religions represents thorough scholarship. After an introduction, in which we have definitions, the book consists of two parts: First, the essential and definite idea of sin as conceived in the various sacred books of the East and a comparison of these ideas. The second part deals with the origin, the results, and the consequences of sin. This method of treatment has its advantages, but a disadvantage is that the material on Islam, for example, is scattered and cannot be brought together, because there is no complete index. Z.

Muhammad und Ahmad: die Namen des arabischen Propheten. By A. Fischer. S. Hirzel in Leipzig, 1932. pp. 27. M. 1.

This important brochure is one of a series published by the Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig. It consists of a reply to a new theory on the significance of Mohammed's name first put forward by Hubert Grimme in 1928 in the *Zeitschr. für Semitistik u. verwandte Gebiete VI.* The theory is stated as follows: "Der Name des arabischen Propheten bezeichne diesen als den 'Gepriesenen,' nun hat er die These aufgestelt, dass wir es bei dem Namen *Muhammad* mit einem abgekurzten theophoren Eigennamen zu tun haben, der ursprünglich *Muhammad* + *'ilu* gelautet haben dürfte." Dr. Fischer answers the various arguments brought forward by Grimme and shows that the name Mohammed was not unknown even in pre-Islamic Arabia, and that the proposed derivation is impossible. "Nach allem scheint mir sicher, dass sich Grimme mit seiner neuen These und seiner ganzen Argumentation arg vergriffen hat und dass *Muhammad* tatsächlich nichts anderes bedeutet als 'hochpreiswürdig' o. a., wobei der Preis natürlich auf den Träger des Namens geht und nicht auf irgendeine metaphysische Grösse." Z.

History of Palestine and Syria: to the Macedonian Conquest. By A. T. Olmstead. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931. pp. 664. $7.50.

The sub-title indicates the chronological terminus of this exceedingly interesting and scholarly work. The author in his first chapter goes back to Pre-Cambrian times and the geological formation of Syria! There is a chapter on the Cave Men and the early Giants, based upon archaeological finds. As a companion volume to the earlier works on Assyria and Egypt, this book makes a universal appeal. In its own field it is exhaustive and yet, without parade of learning, the narrative grips the reader as men and events move across the scene. The empires of the past march through the pages—Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, Macedonia—each of these varied cultures had their effect on Syrian life and development. The author's viewpoint is in accord with that of radical critics who accept the Graf-Wellhausen theory of the documents. The maps and illustrations are excellent. L. S. R.

Early Muslim Architecture. Umayyads, Early Abbasids, and Tulunids. By K. A. C. Creswell. Part I., Umayyads, A.D. 622-750. Oxford University Press, New York. folio pp. 352. $100.

The original intention of Captain Creswell was to write a history of the Moslem architecture of Egypt. A complete account of this, however, was found to be impossible without taking into consideration the architecture of neighboring countries, especially that of Syria, whose influences were felt in Egypt. The scope of the work was then enlarged to include a history of all Moslem architecture in the first three centuries of Islam, with a description of its monuments and an account of the evolution of the Moslem style. The present volume is Part I of this larger work, and deals with the period of the Umayyads, A. D. 622-750. Most of the existing monuments of this period are in Syria; the book is accordingly largely devoted to a discussion of the origins and characteristics of Syrian architecture, and forms a basis for a study of Moslem architecture in Egypt, which developed much later and shows strong Syrian influence.

Each monument is discussed fully with a description of the original structure, an analysis of the whole building, and an examination of its architectural origins. All the available documentary evidence is assembled, and complete bibliographies are added. Greatest space is naturally given to the two most important monuments of early Moslem architecture, the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem and the Great Mosque at Damascus. These are treated by Captain Creswell from the architectural standpoint, and Marguerite van Berchem has added a detailed discussion of their mosaics. Since the mosaics of Jerusalem furnish the oldest example of Moslem decoration, they occupy a very important position in the history of Islamic art, and here they receive a complete and scholarly treatment.

The fine printing and wealth of illustration make this a magnificent production. M. A. Frantz.

Glaube und Sakramente der Koptischen Kirche. Clemens Kopp, Th.D., Orientalia Christiana, vol. 25. Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Rome, 1932. pp. 217. 33 lire.

In this book we have, as the title implies, a presentation of the teachings, sacraments, and ceremonies of the Coptic Church. The author not only consulted the native sources, but also made careful personal observations of the forms in vogue at the present time. Contrary to the generally accepted Western opinion that the Coptic Church is a degenerate form of Christianity or a decadent institution, Kopp sees hopeful signs for the future. When we consider the thoroughness of the Moslem conquest, and the severe persecutions that the Egyptian Christians had to endure, the remarkable thing is that the Coptic Church has continued to exist up to the present time. In the early conflicts between the Melchites and the Monophysites, the author sees not so much a difference of theological opinions as an intense feeling of Egyptian nationalism. On page 26 we find a succinct statement of the Coptic view: *Nach dem Chalcedon ist die Person des ewigen Logos das Band, welches die göttliche und menschliche Natur zusammenhält, in ihm existieren sie beide. Nach der koptischen Auffassung nimmt die göttliche Natur unmittelbar die menschliche in sich auf, aus beiden*

bildet sich die eine Natur Christi. . . . Die zwei Naturen sind m.a. W. nicht bloss verbunden, sondern gebunden, nicht bloss vereinigt, sondern geeinigt, doch so, dass an ihrem Wesensstande nichts geändert wird. Any one who is interested in the theology and sacraments of the Coptic Church should read this authoritative book.

Princeton, N. J. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

A Book of Instruction for Catechumens—The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ. By W. H. T. Gairdner and Constance E. Padwick. Published by S. P. C. K., London; C. M. S., Cairo; St. George's, Jerusalem.

One feels that he can hardly recommend this little book too highly. It is just the kind of book that many have been looking for. And no one engaged in teaching enquirers should be without it.

It is "intended for pupils who can read for themselves." But "it is most desirable that these lessons should be studied not alone, but with a teacher" (from the Introduction). The book is clearly and very helpfully outlined both in the table of contents and throughout the text in a way that is bound to be an incentive to the student. While designed for use with Moslem enquirers, it is sure to be of great help with those from other religions as well.

The book will prove attractive to pupils because of its simplicity and friendliness of style, clear type, its wholesome presentation of Christian truth and its occasional reference to Moslem names and terminology, such as *Yahya, qibla, mujtahid, kalima, tahrim, etc.,* thus making the Moslem reader feel more at home.

It is a course of lessons, and its pedagogy is excellent. Each lesson is based on definite scripture passages, begins with a review, prescribes definite memory work, urges written work in a pocket notebook to encourage use in spare moments, and makes direct personal appeal in a tone that is always welcome to the reader. "The most noteworthy feature of the lessons is the care taken in the training of the catechumen's prayer life, simultaneously with each advance in knowledge of the Gospel truth" (from the Foreword).

The missionary himself will be refreshed by the use of this book, as well as helped and guided in his work with enquirers. For it abounds in rich exegetical flashes, like this one on the conversation with Nicodemus: "At birth the child passes from a blind life within the womb to a life in a great world where it can learn to see and hear and think. The change of birth from blindness to vision and from confinement to space is used by Jesus to describe the change that must take place in the soul before a man can see the Kingdom of God or live in it."

Every evangelistic missionary in Moslem lands should own a copy of this book. And every language area would profit by its translation and publication.

Rezaieh, Persia. G. LYNN BROWNING.

Le Visage Nouveau de la Turquie. Par Eugene Pittard, Paris, 1931. pp. 309.

M. Pittard is Conservator of the Museum of Ethnography in Geneva and his interesting sketch of travels through Asia Minor in 1928 is dominated partly by this point of view, partly by the desire, expressed

in his introduction, to remove traditional prejudice, and to set forth the wonder of the national re-birth of Turkey, following the World War. His itinerary covers the notable centres of Anatolia, from Brusa and Smyrna on the West to Mardin and Diarbekr on the East, and his descriptions are vivid. The ethnography of the various races, Turks, Kurds, Druzes, Armenians and others, is carefully expounded with anthropometrical statistics. These M. Pittard, with some reason, holds to be a far more reliable indication of race affinity than language or nationhood. Even the Turks of Anatolia are a very composite breed, though this does not prevent the author from recognizing special national qualities, borne out by national achievements. The nation, in fact, is a river, in its perpetual flow absorbing heterogeneous tributaries, yet maintaining a unity of course and direction.

Next to the military achievements of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal, M. Pittard rightly singles out among his administrative measures the introduction of the Latin alphabet as the sole vehicle of literature and education. The Arabic script (or its cursive Persian form) had for a thousand years linked the religion and culture of Turkey with Islam. Theology was based upon the Arabic products of Islam; the literary style of Turkish was full of Arabic and Persian phrases; education was based on the Arabic Koran and its derivatives. The revolution and the World war brought about a reaction against Arab culture and religion: and the state was definitely secularized. But that the axe might reach the root of the tree, education and literature must be severed from religion, and that was done, as far as one can see, by the action of a single man, when Kemal Pasha issued a decree that in all public records and in general intercourse, the Latin alphabet (with necessary adaptations prepared beforehand) must be substituted for the Arabic. M. Pittard relates how, in place after place, he found teachers in schools or visitors of cafés and restaurants engaged in the study and practice of the new script; and how the newspapers gradually introduced more and more of the Latin type till the Arabic finally vanished from their columns. By this linguistic revolution, contact was established in the dominant culture of Europe; the enrichment of the Turkish language by new words and phrases was facilitated; and the abolition of illiteracy (then amounting to 10% of the population) was immensely accelerated; for reading in the new phonetic script can be learned in one-tenth of the time required by the old. Incidentally the growth of an indigenous Turkish literature, purged of the former Arabic and Persian elements, is greatly furthered, while the new generation of readers, increasing by leaps and bounds, are cut off from the previous store of literature in Arabic script, with its Moslem atmosphere and tradition.

M. Pittard has less to tell us about the rapid spread of education, but one gathers that the development of secondary education is being rightly treated as subsequent to laying the broad foundation of a system of primary schools. The campaign against disease, in various forms, is actively carried on; for Turkey with its population of 13,000,000 is a land larger than France. It needs people as well as irrigation, forests, drainage, communication; and the book has much to tell of these.

At the same time one sympathizes with the plea for preservation of the priceless historical monuments of Anatolia, as well as for the ex-

ploration of prehistoric remains. All these varied aims are being consciously and steadily pursued by the Ghazi's government, notwithstanding its share in the world collapse of finance, which has even produced a serious legislative measure for the taxation of bachelors.

All this structure of new life is being erected on a secular basis. Religion is not proscribed as in Russia, but it is set aside in the education of the young, and the love of Islam is devalued and its practice discouraged. As M. Pittard writes of Brusa, an ancient seat of empire and religion: "When Brusa was taken by the Turks, dervishes took the place of monks: today both monks and dervishes are gone." A nation, on the way to recover distinction in a new form, is losing its hold on God and eternity. Direct evangelization at present can do little to arrest that spiritual decay. All the more will depend on the witness of Christian life, personal, social, political.

London. H. U. W. STANTON.

Linguistic Policy of the Japhethic Theory and the Udmurt Language. By N. J. Marr. Central Publishing Committee of the Peoples of the U. S. S. R., Moscow, 1931. pp. 128. Price 1r. 20k.

On the Udmurt Themes. (A collection of articles.) Central Publishing Committee of the Peoples of the U. S. S. R., Moscow, 1931. pp. 144 with 41 illustrations. Price 2r.

When Russia existed, there were in that country two districts—that of Viatka and that of Kazan, and in some places of these districts a people is dispersed, called Votiaks. This people is of Finno-Tatarish origin and several works and articles have been written about them. Now the Soviet Government has united this people under the name of Udmurt. This people is still semi-wild and not numerous, and is divided into many tribes. "The Research Learned Institute of the Peoples of the Soviet Orient attached to the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R." (sic!) organized in 1930 the Udmurt Expedition under the guidance of the Director of the Institute, the academician and professor, N. J. Marr.

Besides the scientific forces of the Institute—historians and linguists—the local scholars were added to them. Concerning these scholars we shall speak later. The results of the above-mentioned expedition are beginning to be published in the Scientific Memoirs of the Institute. Two pamphlets are before us: one—by Marr himself, and another by six of his cooperators.

We have already mentioned on the pages of this Journal (THE MOSLEM WORLD, 1932, January, pp. 104, 105) that Marr "was the great Russian Orientalist, created the famous Japhethid theory, but finally has gone too far." His new work is the best proof of our words "too far." It is almost exclusively a propaganda pamphlet. He calls the Votiaks "comrades"; he says that the comrade Stalin is the greatest connoisseur of the Japhethic theory and a remarkable linguist (it is well known that Stalin never finished any high school). The quotations of Lenin's speeches and works are very numerous. From the point of view of Marr, the Japhethid theory is the instrument of the fight between the classes of population. "The Japhethidologist studies a language before its creation, when the language was linear, realized by the hands." All the modern linguistics, either Oriental or Indo-European are wrong.

Almost all the languages of Afreuropasia (sic!) are Japhethic, and the Udmurts as well.

Some titles of chapters are also interesting, for instance: "About the calculation of time in accordance with social structure." The additional chapter is entitled (absolutely unusual in Russian)—"The Overweight." The aim of this pamphlet, as it is explained by the author, is the organization of the communistic cells of Japhethidologists. In conclusion he says: "On the scientific market there are not yet national forms for the new needs, which were created by our October" (i. e., October, 1917). It seems to us that the old scholar is now in a dangerous mental situation.

The second pamphlet contains six articles—three on social culture, one linguistic and two historical, by six absolutely unknown "scholars." All the articles are based on the old pre-revolution materials. Nevertheless, the most serious work, by P. N. Luppoff, is the history of the Votiaks in the 16th and 17th centuries. But the worst one is that dealing with the tribe "Beserman." Really there is a tribe called by this name, but it is evident that we have here the corruption of the word "Musulman," which circumstance is not mentioned by the author.

N. MARTINOVITCH.

Akbar. By Sir Laurence Binyon. D. Appleton & Company, New York. pp. 159. $2.

Akbar was the greatest and wealthiest potentate of his time. Muscular, broad-shouldered, energetic, he was in outward appearance kingly. Unable to read or write, his memory was prodigious and he absorbed by ear the best literature of his day, a man of extraordinary insight, great administrative ability and remarkable religious toleration. His contact with the Jesuit missionaries and his evident leanings to their teaching is one of the astonishing facts brought out in this brief biography. Although the ruler of a Moslem empire, he welcomed leaders of other religions to his court. Finally he essayed to found a new syncretic religion. "Just as champions of international goodwill are often found to exempt their own country from a universal benevolence, and to look on it alone with a malignant eye, so this descendant of conquerors, who had treated all alien creeds with fierce contempt, was warped into oppressing, of all faiths, the faith in which he was bred. As the years went on, his dislike of Muhammad and his whole religious system became more bitter. In 1595 the Jesuit Pinheiro finds in Lahore not a mosque, not a Koran: what mosques remained had been turned into stables. 'The King has made a sect of his own, and makes himself out to be a prophet.' "

The London *Times* characterizes this brief biography as "a brilliant piece of work." The author has consulted all the available sources and is a master of style.

Z.

American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation. By Leland James Gordon, Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pa. pp. 402. $4.

The author of this important historical monograph is Professor of Economics at Denison University. A scholarship from the University of Pennsylvania enabled him to spend a year in Turkey, where he en-

joyed facilities for special investigation. After a sketch of the background of Turkish-American relations and the important events of the past century, the book has three main sections. The first deals with the romance of trade and commercial relations with Turkey (pp. 41-116). Then follows an account of political and economic relations (pp. 117-220). How America opened doors in Turkey through Missions and philanthropy is dealt with in six brief chapters (pp. 221-344). The last chapter gives a summary and conclusions, with a select bibliography as an appendix. The book is not a dry-as-dust discussion of political and diplomatic events; nor does it consist of special pleading for any group. It is a fair, scholarly presentation of a wide range of facts. The writer has no anti-Turkish bias; nor is he blind to the mistakes and follies of Turkish misrule in the past. The chapter on Missions is noteworthy, both for its title and content. It speaks of "America's good-will investment in Turkey" for over a century. It pays a just tribute to the work of the early pioneers in education and philanthropy. The get-up of the volume is worthy of the traditions of a great university, although the maps are second-rate. Z.

Der eine Gott im bewusstsein der Völker. By Ernst Strasser, Lic. Theol. Verlag der evangelisch-lutherischen Mission, Leipzig, 1931. 32 S. Preis 60 Pfg. (Leipziger Missionsstudien, Heft 5).

This little pamphlet is an excellent survey of the extension of the belief in God amongst primitive peoples and those of higher standing. Its main purpose is to show that a belief in God is the common possession of mankind. Even Islam, which among its many Christian elements emphasized belief in one God, owes its diffusion in a large degree to the fact that all nations seem to possess a certain innate susceptibility for the message of the one true God. He is not utterly strange to them, or as Paul puts it, He is "not far from every one of us."

G. Simon.

Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel. By Gustav Richter. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany. pp. 115, RM. 12.

This monograph on the old Arabic "Mirrors for Princes" was prepared for the philosophical faculty of Breslau. It consists of three parts. An account of the oldest literature of this type with *Ibn al-Muqaffa's* translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* into Arabic constitutes the first. The second part deals with the development of this literature at a later period, especially through *Ibn Qutaiba* and *Yāhiz*. The third part is on the influence of Greek Hellenistic literature in later works of this class, especially that of *al-Fārābī*. Z.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Missionary Research Library

I. GENERAL.

Afrique et Proche Orient. Louis Ermont. (In *l'Afrique Française,* Paris. Septembre, 1932. pp. 505-512.)

First installment of a study discussing the increasing unification of Arabs in various countries.

Chez les Kabyles du Nord de la France. L. Aujoulat. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Mai-Juin, 1932. pp. 190-198.)

Visits to the Algerian Kabyles working, in or near Lille, in chemical and metallurgical factories.

Esquisse d'une Doctrine Coloniale Française. Gabriel Hanotaux. (In the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* Paris. 15 Juillet, 1932. pp. 279-294; 15 Septembre, 1932. pp. 281-314.)

French colonial success in North Africa is due to the ability to bring about unity from various dissentient elements by means of tact and justice.

The Development of the Somalis. Sir Harold B. Kittermaster. (In the *Journal of the African Society,* London. July, 1932. pp. 234-244.)

Suggestive survey of the economic situation after fifty years of British control, by the governor of the Protectorate.

Saint François Xavier et les Musulmans. Jacques Declercq, S.J. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Juillet-Août, 1932. pp. 263-268).

Relates miraculous conversions of Mohammedans by the Saint, who admits, however, his preference for work with pagans.

The Touareg before Tourism. Robert du Chalieu. (In *Asia,* New York. November, 1932. pp. 548-554; 588-590.)

Vivid account of the present state of this picturesque race.

The Tuareg of the Sahara. H. R. Palmer. (In the *Journal of the African Society,* London. April, 1932. pp. 153-166; July, 1932. pp. 293-308.)

Scientific dissertation on the origin and language of the Tuareg.

II. EGYPT AND ARABIA.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE ARAB LANGUAGES IN MODERN EGYPTIAN LITERATURE. Mahmoud Teymour. (In the *Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1932. pp. 635-639.)

General discussion, concluding that the classical and modern languages will be merged in a new language for everyday use. while classical Arabic will still obtain in literature.

THE FOUNDER OF MODERN EGYPT. Halford Lancaster Hoskins. (In *The Open Court,* Chicago. September, 1932. pp. 585-604.)

Readable account of the career of Mahomet Ali, who dominated Egypt from 1805 to 1849.

IN DAS UNBEKANNTE SUEDARABIEN. Hans Helfritz. (In *Ubersee und Kolonial-Zeitung,* Berlin. September, 1932. pp. 210-212.)

Travels in Hadramaut and the Yemen, emphasizing the architecture—forerunner of the modern skyscraper.

INTO BURNING HADHRAMAUT. D. van der Meulen. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. October, 1932. pp. 387-429.)

Finely illustrated description of journeyings in southern Arabia from Mukalla to Qabr Hud and Bir Barahut.

MODERN RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES IN EGYPT. Sheikh Aly Abdel Razeq Bey and Dean Robert M. McClenahan. (In *The Open Court,* Chicago. September, 1932. pp. 647-664.)

Finds "modernism" the chief note among Copts and Mohammedans.

SOCIAL TRENDS IN EGYPT. Habib I. Katibah. (In *The Open Court,* Chicago. September, 1932. pp. 632-646.)

Indicates the vital concern and the aggressive policies of the present government in the fields of education and public health.

TAHA HUSAIN AND MODERN EGYPT. Martin Sprengling. (In *The Open Court,* Chicago. September, 1932. pp. 625-631.)

Tells of the blind scholar of Heliopolis and of his efforts to stimulate constructive, critical thinking.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY.

CARÊME ET RAMADHAN. R. Foca, P. B. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Juillet-Août, 1932. pp. 233-246.)

Detailed comparison of these ritual fasts of Catholics and Mohammedans.

THE JEWISH REFERENCES. K. Kudos. (In *The Islamic Review, Woking.* September, 1932. pp. 286-290.)

Moslems and Jews are inseparably linked, both establishing the principle of resuscitating peoples by divine revelation, but the Jews have strayed from God's will.

THE MESSAGE OF THE HOLY PROPHET MUHAMMAD TO EUROPE. Dr. H. Marcus. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. August, 1932. pp. 268-278; September, 1932. pp. 281-286.)

Conclusion of a series begun in the June-July, 1932, number and consisting of a dialogue between "the Christian" and "the Muslim" on various doctrinal points.

THREE CAIRO MODERNISTS. Arthur Jeffery. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. October, 1932. pp. 498-515.)

The advanced critical work of 'Ali 'Abd ar-Raziq, Taha Hussain and Abu Zaid, applied to orthodox beliefs regarding the Caliphate and the Qur'an.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

APOSTOLAT AUPRÈS DES MUSULMANS EN FRANCE. P.A. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Mai-Juin, 1932. pp. 199-203.)

A letter from a priest suggesting various possible ways of gaining converts.

ÉTUDIANTS MUSULMANS EN FRANCE. P. Catrice. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Mai-Juin, 1932. pp. 168-186.)

List of services—government, religious, etc.—intended for Moslem students, with some account of the condition and ideas of these students and the differences between them: Algerian, Tunisian, Moroccan, Egyptian and Syrian.

L'ISLAM AUX INDES NEERLANDAISES. A. Brou. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Juillet-Août, 1932. pp. 247-254.)

Mohammedanism in Java amounts only to a veneer; the natives being actually believers in innumerable gods, fetishes and spirits.

PERSIAN WOMANHOOD: ITS PROBLEMS. E. N. Aidin. (In *The Church Overseas,* London. October, 1932. pp. 337-346.)

Countless opportunities now await missionaries to foster and direct the growing freedom of women.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT. Lieut. Col. P. G. Elgood, C. M. G. (In *The Open Court,* Chicago. September, 1932. pp. 605-624.)

Stresses the initial unwillingness of Great Britain to interfere in Egyptian affairs and the subsequent impossibility of her withdrawal from them.

THE STATE OF IRAQ: A MANDATE ATTAINS INDEPENDENCE. Wilbur Laurent Williams. (In *Foreign Policy Reports,* New York. October 12, 1932. pp. 184-194.)

Thorough survey of the new state and its possibilities.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TURKEY. Walter Woodburn Hyde. (In *World Unity,* New York. October, 1932. pp. 20-29.)

Concise résumé of political conditions from 1876 to 1932.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

DIE CHRISTLICHE MISSIONSARBEIT IM KAMPF MIT DEM ISLAM. Fr. Straub. (In *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin*, Stuttgart. September, 1932. pp. 269-275.)

Describes work among the Mappilla of the Malabar coast.

THE CHURCH IN INDIA AND THE CONVERT FROM ISLAM. L. Bevan Jones. (In *The United Church Review*, India. September, 1932. pp. 263-267.)

Presents suggestions for abolishing the two worst stumbling blocks in work with Moslems—no real desire to make converts from Islam and no true Christian fellowship with those who have been converted.

IN MOSLEM VILLAGES. Rev. G. K. Harris. (In *China's Millions*, London. October, 1932. pp. 197-198.)

Missionary visits in Kansu.

A NEW DAY IN OLD PERSIA. Rev. William N. Wysham. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1932. pp. 471-475.)

A marked decline in Moslem fanaticism and a friendly attitude toward Christian influences indicate that Persia is ripe for a missionary harvesting.

PLIGHT OF NESTORIANS IN IRAQ. Petros Yoseph de Baz, M. D. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1932. pp. 382-384.)

The ancient sect is distressed economically by destitution and disease, and spiritually by fear of absorption into the Roman Catholic Church.

PORTENTS ON ARABIA'S FRONTIERS. W. F. Smalley. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1932. pp. 396-398.)

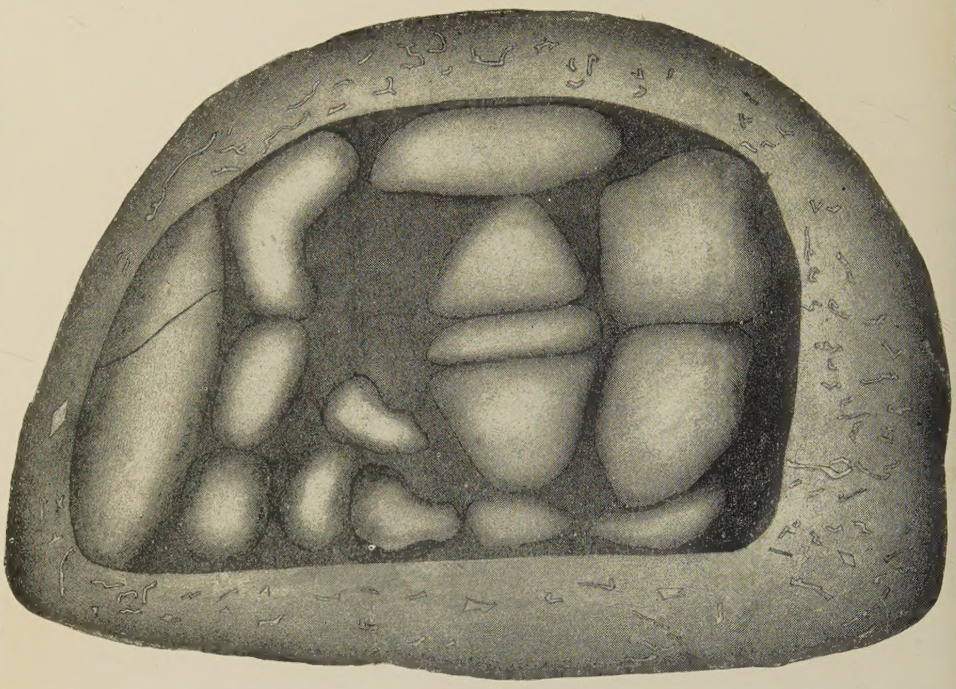
Missionary perplexities in a land where the one bond able to unite otherwise disunited Moslems is opposition to the teachings of Christ.

RENAISSANT PERSIA. Joseph J. Cooksey. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1932. pp. 359-361.)

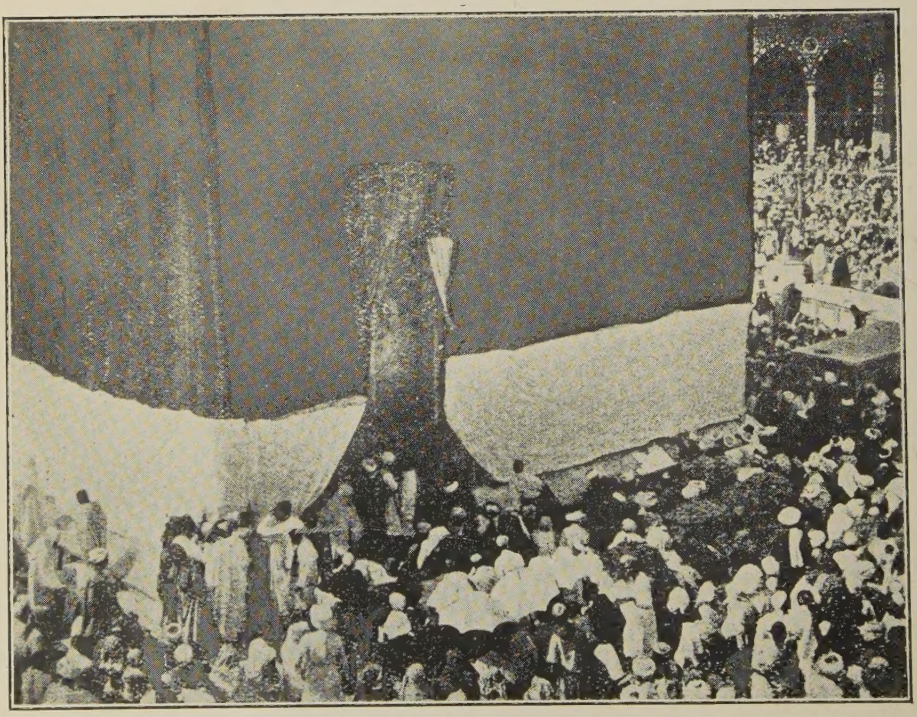
The material and educational revival gives promise of opportunities for missionary penetration.

THE TURKISH PRESS AND THE GOSPEL IN BULGARIA. Ernst M. Hoppe. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1932. pp. 379-381.)

Indicates how Christian teaching may be aided by the growing national dissatisfaction with Islamic ideals.



The Black Stone at Mecca



Pilgrims Kissing the Black Stone

"THE PALLADIUM OF ISLAM"